General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq

President
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Speeches & Statements

1980

The present volume contains speeches and statements by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in 1980. These speeches were delivered in English. As such, they have their own value and utility – Ed.

The President Meets Foreign Journalists

RAWALPINDI
January 15, 1980

Introduction

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia–ul–Haq, met British journalists accompanying the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, on a visit to Pakistan, as also other foreign correspondents resident in Rawalpindi–Islamabad and told them they were witnessing a very important geo–political change whose implications they should examine honestly.

He also told journalists there was as yet no definite plan to forge a defence and economic pact among Muslim countries and no such thing was envisaged. The forthcoming OIC Foreign Ministers' meeting had been convened solely for discussing the situation arising out of events in Afghanistan and to evolve a unified plan of action in this regard.

In answer to a question, he made it clear that it was a rule with the military that when a foreigner enters your territory with aggressive intentions you do not go and kiss him on the cheeck. The same rule would apply if and when Soviet troops crossed Pakistan's border.

Answering a question about reported U.S. economic and military aid to Pakistan worth 400 million dollars, he admitted that talks had been going on about it but had been inconclusive so far.

He told another questioner that the British Foreign Secretary could play a very prominent role after he had acquired knowledge of full facts of events in this region. Britain had great expertise in the matter, he said, as it had been the one which had visualised the role of a buffer state for Afghanistan and because it still was the focus of attention for the rest of the world. Also, as a member of the Commonwealth, it could give vital economic and political assistance to the affected areas of the region.

Asked if Pakistan wanted Britain to give any specific help in the fields of atomic energy and arms sales, he said that above all he wanted to establish understanding with Britain, and the rest would follow. He said Lord Carrington was a lucky Foreign Minister and could play as important a role in this part of the world also.

He agreed with a questioner that Pakistan had already become a buffer State in this region, and so, deserved attention.

He denied that there was any connection between the Chinese Foreign Minister's visit to Pakistan and Mr.Brown's visit to China. These may have been merely coincidental. As it is, Sino–Pakistan relationship is such that exchange of views at that level must not be considered extraordinary.

Asked if there were any strings attached to America's offer of help to Pakistan, he said he was not aware of it so far but his impression was that no such strings would be attached this time. He explained that international affairs were always guided by national interests and hoped that Pakistan's national interest would not be in conflict with that of the U.S.A. To yet another question, he said that Pakistan had a defensive plan which had many contingencies.

Replying to a question about holding discussions with the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, regarding normalisatioon of relations, he said Pakistan's policy was to live and let others live; it was neither in competition with India nor had any aggressive design against any of its neighbours, specially India which was much bigger than itself. He hoped that the Government of Mrs.Gandhi would continue the process of normalisation started by her predecessor. On the question

of militaty hardware required by Pakistan from U.S.A, he said this would be assessed by the givers in a very pragmatic way and he could only hope they would take a very positive view of the situation.

Answering a question about why the Russians were active in the region now, he said that what had happened in Afghanistan was a total change of pattern in this region and on analysis it could be seen that the reasons for this lay in the fact that the time for it was opportune. Iran was involved with its own problems; the U.S. embroiled in the presendial campaign, and with the matter of fifty hostages in Iran; the rest of the world, including India, was busy with its own affairs while Pakistan was trying to stabilise itself. All the same, Russia's military intervention in Afghanistan was no ordinary phenomenon and the results that were likely to flow from it could best be got through a study of geography.

Asked if Pakistan could be subjected to the same kind of subversion as Afghanistan had been and a pro–Soviet government set up in this country as well, he said that all countries of the world were open to subversion but the chances of such an attempt succeeding in Pakistan were not much since there was a strtong nationalist sentiment amongst the people and also because they were staunch Muslims. He denied that Baluchistan presented a problem in this regard, but said that the province had a significance for Pakistan, economically and militarily. He went on to emphasise that Baluchs were most loyal, patriotic Pakistanis, specially so because they saw the danger on their door–steps.

Replying to a question about what Pakistan was doing or would do to repel any further Soviet threat, he said that he hoped that such an occasion would not arise and he wanted to reach a greater understanding with Soviet Union.

He said Pakistan was, so far, coping with the problem of Afghan refugees largely through its own resources with help from other sources coming like drops in the ocean. But he hoped the rest of the free world would come forward with magnamity to help these most deserving people. Pakistan did not want to shirk its reponsibility although this was adding greatly to its many economic problems. He

strongly refuted any suggestion that Pakistan would allow its territory to be used as a base for helping the Afghan Mujahedeen. It strictly adhered to the principle that it should not interfere in anybody else's internal affairs just as it would not allow anyone to interfere in its own affairs.

He told another questioner that his was, of course, a military regime but it had introduced democracy at the grass–roots level, a thing which had remained in abeyance for the last 15 years.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press!

This is a special function, not because I have something special to say to you today, but because we have a very prominent visitor to our country. You must have heard about Lord Corrington. He is accompanied by a fairly large contingent of journalists. So, I thought I will give a special treatment to my friends from United Kingdom. And, alongwith them, also call in other foreign correspondents resident in Rawalpindi–Islamabad. I am sure you have many questions which I will have great pleasure in answering.

You must be fully aware that you are witnessing a very important geo–political change in this region which has taken place recently. It has many implications which you ought to examine.

I am sure, masters of the pen that you are, you will be honest to yourselves and to the events, because otherwise prosterity will never forgive you. I don't say they will forgive others, but certainly not journalists because you have a very important role to play. I would, therefore, wait for making additional comments once I know what questions you have. Yes, Sir.

Question: Mr.President! Will you try to prepare an economic and military defence pact of Islamic countries at the important conference which will be held shortly?

Answer: We have as yet no such definite plan for the Islamic countries. The conference, you are talking about, has been convened

to discuss the situation that has arisen in Afghanistan, a Muslim State and a member of Non-Aligned Movement, but the Islamic countries thought it fit to consider the situation and to see how best they can act in unison. The Foreign Ministers are arriving here on the 26th of this month. We will wait and see what develops out of this conference. But we hope that there will be a joint consideration of the events and unified action will be evolved to meet the situation.

Question: Mr.President! Please tell me, would you order your troops to open fire in the event of Soviet troops crossing your border?

Answer: Generally speaking, it is a rule with the military that when a foreigner enters your territory with aggressive intentions, you go not go and kiss him on the cheek. Have I made myself clear?

Question: Mr.President! There are reports that the United States is considering economic and military aid to Pakistan worth 400 million dollars. Would you consider that to be correct?

Answer: Frankly speaking, we have not heard yet what exactly the United States is planning. Undoubtely, there have been preliminary discussions with them; that was as a result of some of the questions that we wanted to be answered, some of the hard realities that we wanted to know and to have exchange of ideas on. The rest is all speculation.

Question: Mr.President! What would be the outcome of the preliminary discussions with the United States?

Answer: Yes, reports that we have so far of the exchange of ideas are positive in that sense. But it all depends on how we progress from here onwards, what actions follow, or how the exchange of ideas continue.

Question: Can you tell me what you are expecting from Lord Carrington's visit here?

Answer: I have heard that Lord Carrington is undertaking

this tour for studying things for himself. I think he is keen to know what the situation really is, what sentiments are there in the affected areas, Pakistan being one of them. From here, he is going to India, which is not directly affected by this. And I think the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom can play a very prominent role after he has acquired knowledge of full facts of the events.

Question: In what way?

Answer: The United Kingdom has, in my opinion, great expertise. It has been witness to the phenomenon in which the British were the masters of events that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The role of Afghanistan as a buffer state had been visualized, if not wholly created, by the British foreign policy makers of the time, perhaps more so of British India. Britain, in my opinion, still is a focus of attention of the rest of the world. It still is an opinion–maker and I think it can generate correct thinking in the so–called western world. Then, Britain is a member of a very effective organisation of the community which can play a vital role, if not militarily, at least in giving economic and political assistance to the affected areas of this region.

Question: Excellency! Could you tell us, is there any specific help which you would like from Britain? For example, in the field of either atomic energy or arms sales.

Answer: No, Sir, I first want to have perfect understanding with Britain. I think if we have that, we have everything.

Question: Can we help you in any other way?

Answer: First understanding. As I said, if there is correct understanding the rest will follow. If Britain is able to comprehend the way we comprehend things or the way the rest of the world does then I hope our purpose is served.

Question: Your Excellency! Do you think Lord Carrington can play an effective role in maintaing peace in this region?

Answer: But why should not he? Isn't he the Secretary of State of the United Kingdom? And, above all, I think, you ought to know that he is a lucky Foreign Minister. We hope he can play as important a role as he played in Rhodesia. Not so much as a peace–maker, but as an influential Foreign Minister, to see as to what should be done in this part of he world.

Question: Is Pakistan becoming a buffer state in this region?

Answer: It has already become one.

Question: What is required to make it an effective buffer state?

Answer: I think Britain has the perfect answer in this regard. Now, I do not say that Pakistan is a substitute for Afghanistan, but if Pakistan is facing a Super–Power on its doorsteps and if the recent events in Afghanistan, because of Soviet intervension, have changed the environment then Pakistan deserves attention.

Question: Mr. President! Were the visits of the Chinese Foreign Minister to Pakistan and of Mr.Brown to China pre–arranged in connection with the situation in Afghanistan?

Answer: No. The two are not directly connected, because Mr. Huang Hua's visit to Pakistan was arranged much before we knew about Mr.Brown's visit to China. This was a return visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister to Pakistan. We had been caught by the events in the middle. But, I think, you know I have never made any bones about it beacuse of the nature of Sino–Pakistan relationship. China has stood by Pakistan at all critical times, and currently we are going through a very critical period, and exchange of views at that level is nothing extra–ordinary so far as relationship between China and Pakistan is concerned.

Question: Mr. President! In the past, military supplies from the US to Pakistan were cut off, in 1965 and 1971. Have they, this time, assured you that the question of the deliveries or supply of spare parts will not come up again?

Answeer: If you were in my position, Mr.House, what would you do? If you were in my position, what would you expect?

Question: EXcellency! I know Americans are reluctant to lease you weapons which you requested. Would you, in the meantime, ask the same thing from Mr.Huang Hua when he comes back?

Answer: Let me first correct your statement. We have not asked the United States for any weapons as yet. Also, we do not have to ask the Chinese friends for military assistance because they already have been giving us military assistance.

Question: What kind of military assistance they are giving you?

Answer: It all depends as to what exhange of ideas we have, what is the comprehension of our Chinese friends and what are the needs of Pakistan. And I can assure you that with the relationship that we have with China, it has been of great assistance to us, politically, economically, militarily.

Question: Mr.President! Like the other American offers of help, has there been any string attached to nuclear plant?

Answer: No. This is what we have asked them about. And so we are still awaiting an answer. But this is one of the questions that we have asked in case United States of America feels like giving support to Pakistan. We hope, the help and assistance will be without strings. And the impression that I have from the messages exchanged between me nad the President of the United States of America and what my Foreign Advisor has told me on his arrival yesterday, we feel that U.S. probably does not have any strings in mind. But one thing must be quite clear: no body acts against his interests, every one of us, small or big, high or low. When we act in international affairs we are always guided by our national interest. I hope Pakistan's national interest do not get violated by, or is not in conflict with the United States interests in the region.

Question: Mr. President! In Peshawar, the other day, you

mentioned that there is no significant change in the military tariff here. Would you foresee putting troops on a higher stage of alert or would you be moving more troops in the border regions now that the Soviet troops appear to be moving close to your border with Afghanistan?

Answer: We are on a defensive plan, and defensive plans of all countries, according to their own capabilities, have many contingencies and we are acting in accordance with them.

Question: Mr.President! I will be grateful if you tell me what kind of American hardware Pakistan needs? And if I could also ask you a second question, which is: Would you be seeking normalisation and discussion with Mrs. Gandhi who is now elected Prime Minister of India?

Answer: I will answer your second question first. We are already in touch with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I personally spoke to her offering my felicitations on her brilliant success. We want to live and, like good neighbours, let others live. We are not in competition with India in any circumstances. We have no ill intentions or aggressive designs against any of our neighbours, leave alone India which is a much bigger neighbour. We hope that Mrs. Gandhi's Government will continue the process of normalisation of relations which was started by her and which we pursued with her successor, Mr. Morarji Desai, and we had a very successful experiment in that.

Now, with regard to your question on what military hardware Pakistan requires. Such things be better left to military discussions. As far as journalists are concerned, I would only say this much. If Pakistan requires military hardware it has to get it from outside sources as we in Pakistan have no indigenous capability of producing military hardware and those who are going to give it to us are going to assess our requirements in a very pragmatic manner. We have left this to their judgement and I am sure they will take a very positive view of the situation.

Question: Mr. President! Would you kindly give your analysis of why the Russians are active in this region ?

Answer: Yes, I will give it to you very briefly. What has happened in Afghanistan is a total change of pattern in this region. Soviet Union says it has moved into Afghanistan with its military forces, it would like to call its forces military contingent, at the request of the Afghan regime.

Mrs. Thatcher in her letter to President Breznev has very brilliantly questioned that statement. Imam Khomenei also has asked as to which Government Russia was referring to. Secondly, this has brought about a qualitative change in this part of the world. The Soviet Union, which had so far never entered any other non-European country, has for the first time entered militarily on the pretext of helping its friends in Afghanistan which is an Asian country. For the first time, the Soviet Union has taken over a country which is, in fact, Muslim.

As I was telling a questioner the other day, if you analyse the timing of the Soviet action, you will find that it was a perfect one. Iran was involved in its own internal revolution. I point to Iran, because it is a free country. It had been under the influence of United States for a considerable length of time and had been westernized. It is the main producer of oil which is a great attraction these days.

The United States was embroiled in its own internal affairs, the Presidential campaign, and, above all, with the fifty hostages in Iran and is ready for any possible action, military or economic, against Iran.

The rest of the world was involved in its own internal affairs. India was engaged in the elections. I am talking of events happening during the period 25th December to the morning of 28th December, 1979.

Pakistan was engaged in stabilising the country, our own economic problems and all the rest of it.

From 28th February, 1977, when the first change took place in Afghanistan, our asesment has a›ways been that Afghanistan will noι be allowed to slip alway from the hands of the Soviet Union, and

would go so far as to use its military forces. I must admit that even we could not foresee the timing. It came as a surprise to all of us. What are the aims and objectives of the Soviet Union? Are they as innocent, as simple, as to have come to the assistance of a friend, the Afghanistan Government, who under the Treaty of Friendship of December 1978, supposedly requested the Soviet Union for help? Are Soviet designs purely for the acquisition of another geographical terrain which is devoid of all the minerals and, also, of oil. Is this Russian action meant to secure the periferry of the Muslim Soviet that are adjacent to Afghanistan? Or do the Soviets have greater designs in this region? Now this is a question which ought to be answered by not only the students of geopolitical environment, not only by the Russia watchers, but by all those who are interested in the stability of the world at this present juncture, because I think events are moving towards greater chaos and I hope and pray to God that all responsible countries of the world, perticularly the European countries and the Western world, would realise what change has taken place in this region.

It is not an ordinary phenomenon; as I said, a qualitative change has taken place. And I would not go beyound this. But if you look at the map of this region and if you extend the hammer and sickle over Afghanistan and then you see from there onward, which are the areas that ae likely to come under their influence? Where is Iran? Where is the Gulf? And where is the Strait of Hormuz? And where lies Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Muslim world. I leave the answer to your imagination and your study of geography.

Question: Sir, do you feel that Pakistan is open to the same kind of, what western leaders call, subversion by the Russians as happened in Afghanistan? Are there any elements of political instability in Pakistan which might be able to give the Soviet Union, one day, a pretext to set up a Government here?

Answer: All countries of the world are open to subversion, including Great Britain and Pakistan. There is no exception. If you want to ask if Pakistan has got the germs of subversive activities of the nature that have taken place in Afghanistan today, then you ought to relate it to the activities of the freedom–fighters. Soviet

influence in Afghanistan has not come through subversion; it has come through an open act of military interference. But if your question is, if the Soviet Union will be able to subvert the loyalties of Pakistanis inside Pakistan, I would say that there are as many chances here as in any country of the world. But we are aware of this and I can assure you that there are far less chances of Russian intentions succeeding here in view of the fact that we are Pakistanis and we proclaim ourselves to belong to the Faith.

Question: They emphasise that Pakistan has a special problem with the Soviet troops present near Baluchistan. Is this correct?

Answer: Yes, it has a special significance. I do not say it presents a problem, but I would say that Baluchistan has a special significance. One, it is the abjoining province to Afghnistan, and, two, it is the natural frontier that we have between Afghanistan and Pakistan which runs along the Durand Line, is primarily a mountainous region all the way except in certain parts where it turns into desert. It is an open terrain. It does not present problems but has economic and military significance. In Pakistan, which itself is a developing country, this is our under–developed area. So, the problems of Baluchistan are not what you may be visualising, but they emerge from the military weakness or the weakness of the the terrain that it presents and such like.

Answering a supplementay question, the Present said: Only in the sense that it adjoins Afghanistan and in no other context, because the Baluchs claim themselves claim to be true Pakistanis, and for your information, if you do not know it already, when Pakistan was being formed, as a matter of formula it was decided that the Muslim majority areas would go to Pakistan, and the non–Muslim majority areas would go to India.

But before this, in NWFP, a referendum was held before independence was granted to Pakistan, and the North–West Frontier Province, which compises the Pushto speaking people, overwhelmingly decided that they wanted to be part of Pakistan,

In Baluchistan, a tribal Jirga was held. It was a tribal society,

and still is a tribal society. All the tribal leaders were asked to give their consent whether they wanted to be part of Pakistan or whether they wanted to be an independednt state and they all voted for Pakistan. It is that particular province of which we are talking about. They are as loyal and patriotic as any Pakistani would be, in fact more so, because they see the danger coming to their doorsteps.

Question: Sir, what did you do or are doing to stop any further Soviet threat?

Answer: As far as Pakistan Army is concerned it is capable of defending Pakistan's borders against any aggression and has been doing so. I want to make it quite clear that we hope we will not have the occasion to face such an aggression. We do not want to create unnecessary scare in the country or in the adjoining countries. The Soviet Union is a super–power which now has a very great regional influence in our areas. We cannot ignore this fact. We have to recognise this. And we have had in the past, particularly after 1965 and more so after 1971, very good relationship with the Soviet Union. We want to reach greater understanding and harmony with the Soviet Union, which has not only come with military strength in Afghanistan but also happens to be our neighbour in a little corner in the north of Pakistan.

Question: Excellency! Would you say something about refugee problem? Can Pakistan cope with it?

Answer: This is the first humanitarian question that has been asked. Thank you very much for it.

We have problem of feeding and looking after nearly half a million refugees, four hundred and thirty five thousand to be exact. But if you take the figure of nomads who generally come to Pakistan in the winter and are not likely to return home if the condition in Afghanistan is not good then their number is nearly half a million. So far Pakistan has been feeding them, giving them temporary shelter and providing them medical assistance. All from its own resources. It is only recently that the United Nations, some of our Muslim brothers and Western friends have started to help us in this regard

but such help is still like a drop in the ocean.

I hope that you will have a chance to see some of these refugee camps. I hope the journalistic community is alive to this problem, which is human problem. I would urge you to inform the world about it because it is not Pakistan's problem alone but of the whole of the free world. And I expect that those countries which can afford would come forward to help these very deserving people who have left their hearths and homes and come to Pakistan not for a picnic but in order to preserve their freedom and Faith. And we hope we have the decency and the character to uphold their aspirations.

Question: Excellency! How serious could be the refugee problem in terms of Pakistan's economy and domestic stability?

Answer: Very serious. I expect that this figure of refugees, about half a million now, would swell to nearly one million by March if the condition in Afghanistan remains the same. In the last two weeks, or since 28th of December todate, 20,000 additional refugees have entered Pakistan. We do not want to shirk our responsibility and we are looking after our Muslim brothers from Afghanistan as well as we can but the fact still remains that this is a big problem for a developing country like Pakistan which already has many economic problems. I think this could be a very great burden on us.

Question: The freedom fighters in Afghanistan have been constantly asking for help, but still they have got no help. Are you going to help them? Or are you going to allow your territory to be used as a base for helping them?

Answer: No, sir, to be frank, we will not allow Pakistan to be used as a sanctuary or as a base for carrying any subversive activity in Afghanistan, because we have a few principles of our own. We do not want to interfere in anybody's internal affairs and we would not allow anyone to interfere in our affairs. But we would help, we are helping and would continue to help the Afghan refugees on humanitarian grounds only

Question: Excellency! Would you please tell us about politi-

cal evolution in your country?

Answer: This is a lengthy subject. I suggest that today we confine ourselves to Afghanistan. You can have a session with me later on and I can tell you what plans I have for political evolution in Pakistan. We have already carried out part of the plan and I would request our friends abroad in particular who consider Pakistan to be a military dictatorship and a very unstable country, politically, economically and otherwise, to please come here and see for themselves and I am sure they will change their minds.

We are a military regime but one which has introduced demoracy at the grass–roots level which had been put into abeyance for the last 15 years. We have carried out elections on the basis of adult franchise at district level and to the municipal committees and the municipoal corporations. Would you still call us undemocratic? All we want to do is to have a good basic structure, not an infrastruture. You cannot create a building without foundations and those who think that a house could be built from roof downward are wrong. We want to build up a structure from bottom wpward. We are laying down the foundation–stone of democratic institutions in Pakistan and in this we have succeedded. Now, we are thinking of erecting the walls and lay the roof on top of this building; in other words, provincial and federal govenments.

Thank you so much

Inaugural Address by the President of Pakistan at the Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference

ISLAMABAD
January 27, 1980

Introduction

Innaugurating the extraordinary session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference at Islamabad on January 27, 1980, the President, General Mohammad Zia–ul–Haq, called on the Conference to send an unequivocal message to the Soviet Union expressing grave concern of the Islamic world at the presence of its troops in Afghanistan and urging it to reverse the course of its military intervention without which trust and cooperation between it and the Islamic world could not be restored.

Saying that the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan was the latest tragedy to befall the Muslim world, the President pointed out that the Soviet action was entirely contrary to the established and fundamental norms of intenational realtions and hoped that the 15 million courageous Afghans would, as always in the past, never submit to foreign domination.

The President posed the question why the Muslim Umma was faced with this problem today and with other threats to their territorial integrity in the recent past. He said his own study of these had led him to the conclusion that the real weakness of their action stemmed from their lack of conviction in their Faith, and the remedy lay in renewing this and in closing their ranks. He also pointed out that Islam was a complete code of life which preached tolerance and

understanding for other religions and other points of view.

Detailing the uphevals in Afghanistan during the past two years, the President said that one of these changes that had directly affected Pakistan was the arrival of a large number of refugees and that direct foreign armed intervention would have far–reaching consequences for international peace and security and a matter of grave concern for the entire world, most particularly the Islamic world. He warned that if this precedent was allowed to perpetuate then what had happened in Afghanistan now could also happen in another country later.

The President felt gratified that the world community had strongly supported Pakistan's principled stand against foreign intervention and that 104 members of the U.N. General Assembly had deplored it and called for immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

Speaking about half a million Afghans treking into Pakistan as refugees, he said Pakistan had been looking after them, and would continue to do so, purely on humanitarian and Islamic grounds, but pointed out that the problem was a gigantic one and required much greater world–wide effort.

Pointing out that the real problem was not the upkeep and maintenance of refugees present on Pakistan soil but the internal situation in Afghanistan, the President assured the Afghan people that the holding of the present confernce was a testimony to the fact that they were not along in their hour of trial.

The President asserted that in order to avoid a recurrence of a situation similar to one obtaining in Afghanistan, Muslim countries should consider ways and mean for the collective defence of the Islamic Umma rather than that of individual countries. He warned that if Muslims failed to do so, they would not be able to safeguard themselves in the future.

Mr.Chairman;

Honourable Foreign Miniters;

Excellecencies;

Distinguished delegates;

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Asslam–o–Aliakum.

This Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers has been convened to consider a most extraordinary situation. This critical situation has been created by Soviet armed intervntion in Afghanistan which is a non–aligned country, an Islamic country as well as our neighbour.

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and myself I welcome the distinguished Foreign Ministers and delegates who have come to attend this Conference despite their numerous preoccupations. It is my sincere hope that not only will their stay in Pakistan be pleasant but they will be able to realise the noble objectives for which they have assembled here.

We consider it a privilege that Pakistan was chosen as the venue of this Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Despite the limited time at our disposal, we have done our best to arrange this Conference within our resourcees. If in spite of our efforts there are still some inadequacies, we hope you will overlook them.

This Conference is a representative gathering of 900 million Muslims who are spread over vast and vital areas of the world. You are well aware that these 900 million people believe in one God, one Prophet and one Book, and truly constitute the Muslim Umma. We are grateful to Almighty God that in addition to bestowing on this Millat the most perfect faith and a complete way of life. he has also

favoured us with human and material resources which are the envy of the world. Most of the countries belonging to this Millat are situated in regions which have a special significance for international peace and the well–being of the nations of the world.

We need to ponder over the reasons why this Millat, which is so vitally situated, so rich in human resources and so matchless in spiritual values, should be subject to so much suffering at this time. On the one hand, the first Qibla of Islam is under alien occupation and the people of Palestine and Kashmir are yearning for the restoration of their rights. On the other, our Iranian brothers, who are endeavouring to consolidate their Islamic revolution, are subjected to intimidation and pressure. The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan is the latest tragedy to befall the Muslim world. This intervention in which Soviet forces have participated in very large numbers is entirely contrary to the established and fundamental norms of international relations. Its victims are the 15 million people of Afghanistan who have never submitted to any foreign domination. I am certain that even now the proud and courageous people of Afghanistan will uphold their traditions.

You will kindly recall that a decade ago when the Masjid–i–Aqsa was desecrated the followers of Islam were galvanized into action and they established the Islamic Conference as a permanent organisation for the protection and preservation of their spiritual, moral, economic and social values. The establishment of this Conference was, doubtless, a very important step for the strengthening of the Umma. But we must acknowledge the fact that despite all out efforts, even today the Palestinian people are deprived of their hearths and homes and their human rights. We have to ponder over the question as to why the Muslim Umma is faced with these problems and why the Muslim countries face threats to their territorial integrity.

I have no doubt that these and countless other questions in this regard have engaged your attention, and your wisdom, experience and insight would have provided you with some answers. My own study of these problems has led me to the conclusion that the real weakness of our actions stems from our lack of conviction in our

Faith. We loftily claim that we are holding fast to the covenant of Allah but perhaps our grasp of this cable is not strong enough and our hearts are not inspired by true Islamic fervour. In our daily lives we are leaning towards materialism. We often forget that Islam is the religion which meets in the best possible manner mankind's material as well as spiritual needs. I believe that we have to search our hearts, renew our faith and close our ranks. If we can succeed in this, I assure you that we will have immeasurably strengthened the citaldel of Islam against all external forces.

Islam is a complete code of life which teaches tolerance and understanding for other religions and other points of view. We do not wish to impose our ideology on others and, similarly, we would not tolerate others imposing their ideologies on us. Ideologies have their own place and their own significance and I think that ideological battles should be fought only on ideological fronts. It is not proper that an ideology be imposed by force of arms. All efforts to do so must be condemned.

Dear Brothers–in–Islam,

We have watched with grave concern the upheavals which have taken place in Afghanistan. During the last two years many changes have taken place there. One of the manifestations of these changes directly affecting Pakistan is the arrival of a large number of Afghan refugees. Our borders have also been violated. But in spite of all this we have exercised the maximum possible restraint and have regarded the developments in Afghanistan as its internal affair. Every possible effort has been made by us to maintain normal and friendly relations with the government of that country. Most recently, however, as a result of foreign armed intervention there the situation has undergone a complete change. This will have far–reaching consequences for international peace and security and is a matter of grave concern for the entire world and most particularly the Islamic world. This is the first instance since World War IIs when a super power has made a sovereign and independent Muslim country the target of its attack. We view this development with the utmost apprehension, because unless this trend to subjugate small countries through the use of force is arrested in time, world peace and the independent existence

of small countries would be endangered. In plain words, if this precedent is allowed to perpetuate itself then what has happened in Afghanistan today could happen in another country tomorrow. We must ask ourselves the question whether after thousands of years of civilisation we are returning to the barbaric ages, in which the only living reality is force and force alone. Are we moving in a direction where powerful countries would be able to swallow smaller countries without fear of consquences? Heaven forbid, if this should happen, then this stage in the evolution of mankind would only bring about the destruction of humanity. The sooner such an eventuality is averted the better it would be.

Dear Brothers,

This Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers should not be content with issuing resouding statements only. It will not be enough to demonstratre by words alone our grave concern at the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and national independence of brotherly Afghanistan, whose proud people have a glorious heritage of Islamic values, traditions and culture. We meet with a sense of urgency and serious purpose. While expressing our solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, we should make a supreme effort to ensure the earliest and complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Afghanistan.

An unequivocal message should go forth from this Conference conveying to the Soviet Union the grave concern of the Islamic world at the presence of its troops in Afghanistan and calling on the great power to reverse the course of its military intervention. Only such a step by the Soviet Union can effectively restore trust and cooperative relationship between it and the Islamic world.

It is a matter for deep gratification that the world community has strongly supported our principled stand against foreign armed intervention and that 104 members of the General Assembly of the United Nations have deplored foreign intervention in Afghanistan and called for immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from that country. This overwhelming vote at the United Nations represents the sincere and emphatic voice of interna-

tional conscience which must be fully heeded. Not to do so would spell doom for mankind. We are meeting here today to give subtance and practical shape to this call. We are standing today at the crossroads of history and the eyes of the entire world are focussed upon us. The Muslim Umma expects that effective step will be taken by this Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers to help restore the sovereign rights of a brotherly Muslim country.

My Brothers–in–Islam,

One direct result of the chaotic conditions in Afghanistan has been that upto half a million Afghans have been obliged to leave their hearths and homes and take refuge in Pakistan. I fear that if the situation does not improve, the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan will continue to rise. These destitute refugees, among whom is a large number of women, children and old men, have been obliged to leave their country in order to preserve their religion, faith, culture and freedom. We in Pakistan are looking after our Afghan brethern solely on humanitarian and Islamic considerations. If we are not able to do as much as we would wish, it is because of the paucity of our resources and not because of the paucity of our rsources and not because of any lack of will on our part. I would like to emphasise that the situation in Afghanistan and the problem of Afghan refugees is not a matter of concern for Pakistan alone but for all the Muslim nations and the rest of the world. We are helping these suffering brethren to the best of our ability and, by the Grace of God, will continue to do so. But their plight should be a matter of international concern. In the recent past some countries and international organisations have extended a helping hand to Pakistan for which we are very grateful; but the problem which faces us is a gigantic one and requires much greater world–wide effort.

Dear Brothers–in–Islam,

The real problem is not the upkeep and maintenance of refugees present on Pakistan soil but the internal situation in Afghanistan. Until that situation takes a turn for the better the refugees will continue to come, human lives will continue to be lost and fundamental human principles will continue to be violated. For the people of

Afghanistan, with whom we have eternal bonds of Islamic brotherhood, we have nothing but sentiments of sympathy and friendship and we hope that they will soon overcome their difficulties and will be able to lead their lives in accordance with their own aspirations and faith.

Dear Brothers,

We are gathered here today basically to take stock of the situation arising out of the Soviet action in Afghanistan. I take this opportunity to assure my Afghan brethern that the holding of this Conference bears testimony to the fact that in this hour of trial they are not alone. The entire international community is with them.

Dear Brothers,

I have drawn your attention to some aspects of the problem which confronts us. But one aspect of the problem to which I wish to draw your attention particularly is that in order to avoid a recurrence of a similar situation the Muslim countries must consider ways and means for the collective defence of the Islamic Umma rather than the defence of individual countries. If we fail to do so, we shall not be able to safeguard ourselves in the future. History bears witness that only by collective and concerted action can nations withstand the challenges that are posed to them. One of the fundamental principles of our religion is the establishment of the Muslim Umma and the basic philosophy of this principle is that so long as all members of this Umma share each other's travail, they cannot be harmed. The establishment of the Islamic Umma is ordained by God, and negating this would be to go against the Word of God. Going against the Word of God brings tribution. It is our earnest prayer that Allah Almighty in His ir.finite mercy lead us along the righteous path and enable us to establish the Islamic Umma on strong and sure foundations.

It is imperative that along with the solution of our worldly problems we carry out the injuctions of God. The first injuction is in Kalima Tayyaba, that is, "There is no god save Him". I believe that if Muslims can lead their lives in accordance with this Kalima and fear no one except the Creator, they can redeem themselves not only

in this world but also in the next. Therefore, let us, first and foremost, strengthen our faith and shape our actions in accordance with Sharia, create unity in our ranks and resolve today that we shall dedicate ourselves totally to the glory of Islam and the defence of the Umma.

Dear Brothers,

A heavy responsiblity rests on you at this citical moment. I have faith in your profound wisdom and experience and feel confident that you will take constructive decisions and formulate a united response to the grave problems facing the world of Islam today. I pray that Allah Almighty may guide your deliberations and bless your efforts with success.

Pakistan Paindabad!

Islami Umma Zindabad!

The President's Banquet Speech in Honour of Dr. Brzezinski

ISLAMABAD
February 2, 1980

Introduction

Speaking at a banquet ain Islamabad given in honour of Dr. Brzeziniski, National Security Advisor to the U.S. President, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia–ul–Haq, thanked the distingushed guest for coming to Pakistan at a very critical juncture.

He said he got an opportunity to have serious, very straigthforward, very deep talks with the honoured guest on problems involving this region, and it was heartening for him to find that a traditional ally, U.S.A, was trying to find a lost Asian ally.

He hoped the visit would prove very fruitful and very important in establishing meaningful relations between the two countries, leading to the creation of a situation where they could be of mutual assistance to each other.

At the end, he proposed a tost to the health of President Carter, to the prosperity of the United States of America, and to the health, prosperity and success of the chief guest.

Your Excellency Dr. Brzeziniski;

Mr.Waren Christopher;

Mr.Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr.Anwarrul Haq;

Excellencies;

Ladies and gentlemen!

We are gathered here today to host a simple dinner in honour of our distinguished guests from the United States of America.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of Pakistan we are very obliged that this distinguished delegation has arrived in Pakistan at a very critical juncture.

When I say critical, I really mean it, because Pakistan today is perhaps at a most crucial stage not only from the point of geopolitical environment and the present circumstances in which things are moving, but also in international raltionship and peace.

This opportunity has also afforded us a great pleasure and honour to talk very seriously, very straightforwardly, very correctly, very deeply on the problems involving the region in which we are living, and it is heartening to see that our tradition ally, a country for whom Pakistan has love and regard, the United States of America, is trying to find a lost Asian ally.

I hope during the course of our meeting, and during our deliberations, we will find the old traditional ties that were not quite snapped, but had undergone a strain. We hope Dr. Brzezinski will help in mending those ties.

We hope that this visit will prove very fruitful, very important, in establishing meaningful relations between the two countries, and we hope that this will pave the way for a better understanding and better mutual co–opration between United States of American and Pakistan.

I have lots of hope that we will be able to achieve what is good for our countries and we will be able to create a situation where the two of us, the United States of America and Pakistan, can be of mutual assistance to each other.

I would request you, ladies and gentlemen, to join with me in a toast:

> --To the very good health of the President of America, President Carter. Our good wihes to him for a very successful campaign;
>
> --For the prosperity of the people of the United States of America;
>
> --To the good health of all of us who are assembled here;
>
> --And, above all,

To a very good health, long life, properity and all success to my friend, Dr. Brzezinski.

Address to the Doctors of King Edward Medical College and Doctors from Abroad

CMLA SECRETARIAT RAWALPINDI April 1, 1980

Introduction

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia–ul–Haq, met doctors of King Edward Medical College, Lahore, and Pakistani doctors living aboad, specially in North American countries, at his secretariat in Rawalpindi, and exchanged views with them at length. Also present at the meeting were representatives of all the Ministries, practically principals of all the medical colleges in Pakistan, some leading physicians and surgeons living in Rawalpindi and the entire medical hierarchy of Pakistan. The main reason for convening the get–together, as he said in his welcome speech, was to speak to them at first hand and to find out how Pakistan could make use of the knowledge and experience of Pakistani doctors living abroad and, also, what the authorities here could do for them.

At the outset, he told them of the difficulties that beset Pakistan

generally and in the feild of medical and health care in particular. Among these, he listed the rank and position consciousness which had assumed the dimensions of national characteristic and was a hard nut to crack. By way of example, he cited the case of the Rawalpindi Medical College and the Central Government Hospital, also in Rawalpindi, where, with all the resources at his command, he had failed to set up a teaching hospital and, also, to satisfy the needs of the medical college. This was because of the system in vogue in Pakistan today which needed to be changed.

He recounted the measures that had so far been taken for providing basic health–care to people in the rural as well as the urban areas. One was to broad–base medical education in the country. Another was to make use of all available disciplines over and above allopathy. And yet another was to concentrate, partly through health education and partly through health servises in the rural areas, on population control.

To a question, he said that adequate attention was being paid to quality control in disciplines of medicine other than allopathy.

He agreed with a questioner that there was lack of opportunity for medical doctors in the country and, also, a low standard of work which forced them to go abroad and stay there for good inspite of their wish to return. He, however, hoped that the situation would begin to improve after 1982.

He also agreed with the same questioner that Pakistanis despite professing Islam were terribly class conscious and very much wanting in respect for humanbeings as humanbeings. The trait was there because of factors inherited from the colonial past, and it would take quite some time to catch up with standards found in countries like U.S.A. He endorsed a suggestion for setting up a permanent medical commission to be headed by a competent person and be in session all the time.

Answering another professor from the States, he said that a

system had been laid down, and a talent pool had been created in the Ministry of Health. All that qualified Pakistanis desirous of returning home had to do now was to send their biodatas to the Ministry of Health which would quickly process their application and place them in positions befitting them and also provide them with necessary facilities. He, however, made it clear that while prepared to encourage talented Pakistanis abroad, he was duty-bound to look to the interests of Pakistanis living within the country and having equal qualifications. He also spoke of a set of offers he had made to Pakistanis abroad.

Answering a question about dual nationality, he said that any Pakistani living in America but wanting to have a Pakistani passport as well could now get it by simply applying for it to the embassy. About a suggestion about giving Pakistanis living in U.S.A. as citizens of that country, green cards or some such thing since U.S. laws forbade holding of another country's passports, he said he would look into the matter.

The President concluded the meeting with an appeal to Pakisatanis living in U.S.A or in any other foreign country to let their home-country benefit by their talent and experience, more so in an organised manner. He also pleaded with them to patronise meritorious students living in Pakistan for training in special disciplines like research, medical education and such others which were not readily available inside the country. And, finally, he exhorted them to live like a happy community and project the image of Pakistan as its dedicated ambassadors.

Welcome to Rawalpindi. The purpose of having you here is to show my appreciation of the efforts that you have put in coming to Pakistan on your own. This is a gesture to show that you are welcome, and also to indicate that all this is not for me. My instructions are that in the little discussion that we are going to have today, the projection should be of the King Edward Medical College and of the luminaries visiting Pakistan and not of General Zia-ul-Haq.

My basic reason for getting you here is to speak to you at first hand and to see as to how best we in Pakistan can make use of your knowledge and experience and also to see if there is anything we can do for you outside Pakistan. I have here, today, important representatives of all the Ministeries, some of whom you will meet at the dinner, pracitically all the Principals of medical colleges in Pakistan, some important physicians and surgeons in Rawalpindi and the medical hierarchy of Pakistan. We have here Secretary of Education and the Advisor on Higher Education, and the Secretary of Health is being represented by General Iqbal. We thought we will have a discussion in which we can draw a pick of your brains and can have the benefit of your experience outside Pakistan for improving medical education and medical facilities in Pakistan except where money is involved, because financially we are not so well–off. Ideally, all medical institutions and hospitals must be spick and span and must have modern facilities. All this goes with your thinking.

So, I invite you to speak your mind. I am particularly addressing doctors who have some from North America. I can assure you that we will not only listen to you patiently but will also try to implement as best as we can whatever your suggestions may be.

But before I invite speakers from amongst you, permit me to give my views also because it must be a two–way traffic, and I say this with due apology to doctors in Pakistan. May be, I am saying this on account of ignorance, because I do not claim to have knowledge of each and every department. But I have dealt with medical and health care in Pakistan from very close quarters. It was with my experience in the army that I tried to do a little bit on the civil side after taking over the reins of government in July, 1977.

We have two or three national characteristics. One of these is that we are very rank–conscious and very position–conscious. We just cannot get out of our system. We feel that it is not good enough for Zia–ul–Haq (I am sorry I have used my own name) to be addressed by his name only; the word 'General' must be added to his name to show his rank, and also to indicate that he is in Grade–24. That is the status symbol. We are not easily sartisfied.

Now these are some of our national characteristis. I am not counting exceptions, very noble ecceptions, in the field of medicine in Pakistan. We have such talented people who do not care about the monetary remunerations, or about status, or about symbol. They have dedicated their lives to the profession. I am talking about such people of whom there are many.

But how can we get out of the system? Today you want a man in the domain of research who is prepared to give up some of the extra monetary gains that he rightly makes by remaining in the teaching profession. We have the Rawalpindi Medical College here and, also, the Central Government Hospital. But with all the resources available at my command I have not been able to set up a teaching hospital and I have also not been able to satisfy the Medical College by giving it this facility. Some tussle is going on between the two. We hope to solve it in due course of time.But the point is that a man wants to be an Associate Professor becasue he has put in that much of service as an Assistant Professor; then he wants to be a Professor because, according to him, a Professor is in Grade–20 and because his associates in the Army are Brigadiers who are in Grade–20. There, a civilian in Grade–20 is not satisfied unless he becomes Professor.Actually, there are so many spokes in the wheel that it is difficult to count them.

Those of you who have come here from outside after a long time and those who may have come here for the first time I just want to make them also feel that we do want to get over the system. I do not say that the difficulties are insurmountable; they are surmountable. I am sure you will be astounded to know what the Government of Pakistan is paying to Professor Sial. But this is a fact. When you come to know what my own pay and allowances are, I am sure you will think that you cam employ at least half a dozen Presidents of Pakistan in what you and other doctors are earning in U.S.A. These are the restrictions.

Doctors in Pakistan do their F.Sc which is premidical. They have to work hard to compete for admision to medical colleges. In spite of the incident which Dr. Sial mentioned in Lahore, there are certain individuals who adjust and make arrangements for their sons and

daughters, brothers and sisters, But, basically, the boy has to work hard. He has got to be brilliant to enter a medical college. He has got to spend, these days, not five but six–and–a–half years to get a medical degree. Five years because of the curriculum and one–and–a–half years, thanks to bunglings in the colleges, among the student community, the political activity that goes on in the colleges and all the rest of it. The colleges keep on opening and closing thanks to one party or the other and to all the rest of it. One–and–a–half years goes towards that. It takes 6-1/2 to seven years in Pakistan these days for a medical student to graduate. Now after spending 350 rupees a month and 1,200 rupees on one book of anatomy a doctor in Pakistan wants two things. One, he wants that he should be treated as above the normal. Secondly, he wants that makes all the money from the time he has climbed the first ladder he wants to take strides and acquire the wherewithall to go abroad, and, once abroad, there are very few who come back because of the job opportunity. Recognition of the talent is much more in forign lands than is at present available in Pakistan. So, whereas I entirely agree that education in Pakistan has to be improved and the two post–graduate institutes that we have today are far away from the required standard. But the point is, who is going to bell the cat? I do not expect an answer to this from you, because you have very rightly identified the problem. The solution to it has to be found by the doctors working in Pakistan. I am very grateful for your observations.

Question: Mr.President! What system of delivery of health care has been adopted in this country? Have we ever decided about it? Is it going to be on services basis or is it going to be some sort of a health insurance system? Or have we ever made a policy on this?

Answer: In the Five–Year Plan that we launched in 1978, we made three basic provisions in health care.

One, basic health facilities will be provided to all, in the rural as well as in the urban areas.

Two, medical education should be broad–based. It should be such that it meets the requirements of the whole country. It should

be determined as to how we could produce a doctor even at less cost and less time.

The third thing we decided, and which is being implemented, is that since we will never be able to have sufficient professional, competent alopathic doctors, we must utilise all the disciplines that are available in Pakistan, including *Hikmat* and Homoepathy. We hold that as long as they are qualified and there is a system and a cuuriculum laid down for those disciplines people should be allowed to qualify in them and look after the basic health needs of Pakistan.

The next step that we took in the domain of health–care was to concentrate, partly through health education and partly through health services in the rural areas, on the control of population. It may sound elementary to you but we have no systematic plan.

Question: In North America, financing is not the basic problem to be faced with regard to delivery of health. I don't think the Government of Pakistan can pay for the health of individuals and someone else has to pay the bills. In North America, we are paying through health insurance which you are paying individually to various different companies, and entrepreneurs. There are other systems in which the govenment takes money from the payees and through that the health system is arranged. I really don't think if I know about the policy.

Answer: No, unfortunately we are not all that organised as yet. And, again, it is an inbuilt characteristic of Pakistan and most of the developing countries. In India, also, it is about the same. The government is expected to produce an Alladin's Lamp and provide all the necessary requirements of humanbeings living in this country. Even so, you will be surprised to know that the government is picking up the bills of a large number of subsidies, in the field of agriculture, in the field of health, in the field of education and in many other fields, like exports. In Pakistan, we have not yet started thinking that you only get what you pay. We are accustomed to this through some political propensities in Pakistan. So, the Government of Pakistan is still picking up a large number of bills, and so are the provincial

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Question: Mr.President! You mentioned about other methods of health–care like *Hikmat* and Homeopathy. I used to get a box full of homoepathic medicines for only two rupees. Do you have quality control in those fields as we have in alopathic medicine?

Answer: Yes, very much so. Hakeem Saeed is stitting here and can throw light on this. This is what we have done. We have integrated various systems through the Ministry of Health. Hakeem Saeed is my Advisor and I am about to appoint a Homeopathic Advisor as well. They are recognized institutions and their courses are spread over as much time as a medical college – four years, five years. In addition, we encourage scholars from medical institutions, universities and colleges to go and give lectures at Tibbia Colleges in anotomy, biology, and other subjects. We are also giving enough attention to quality control of these medicines.

Question: Mr.President! I would like to focus on a different area of health-care. Why people leave Pakistan after graduating and

why so many of them do not want to come back to Pakistan? I will tell you why I left Pakistan to go to United States where I am a surgeon now. At the end of my training I very much wanted to stay here in Pakistan and practice in this country. But when I finished my house job I looked around and there was no opportunity for me to practice in the manner which I thought would be appropriate. There was, also, no integrated programme of training which I could go through. I had the choice of either looking for a registrarship at some institution or to go to a distant hospital where there would be not enough medicines to give to the patients even for simple diseases. My other choice was to open a shop, collect a few mixtures and start treating patients without adequate experience.

After looking around, I really did not see any option but to go out of the country, where there were organised programmes in which I could get started, and gradualy, year by year, I came out as a mature surgeon and there were possibilities for me to start practice there. Even then my heart was in Pakistan, and still is, because all the members of my family are here. But the problem is that I again look around and I do not see myself fitting anywhere, and twenty of my colleagues find themselves in the same situation. If they come back, they will have to greatly lower their standard to fit into this country's system. This is a problem. Once you get used to a certain standard it becomes very difficult to lower it.

Another thing which I noted since I came here is that there is not too much basic respect for humanbeings. Here, you are treated like a king if you happen to be an important person but if you are a common man walking on the streets you do not command any respect. My ten-year-old son, who is here with me, told me the other day: "Dad, this is a beautiful country. I was told that this is a poor country and it is no good, but I see so many nice things around. But I notice one thing. Here, people do not care too much about the poor people" Upon hearing this I felt really ashamed. I think there is need for increasing the value of basic human life, without any regard who a person was, where he came from and who was recommending him. This is some thing which we see all the time. In the United States even a person who cleans the streets is treated with great deal of respect when he walks into a hospital. He does not bring a

letter from somebody. He does not have somebody to make a telephone call for him. He is treated like a humanbeing. This is very important.

Answer: I entirely agree with your observations. I do not think it is very unpatriotic for a man to go abroad for higher learning. I think we will go through this phenomenon for the next three years. But from 1982 when we start producing 4000 doctors per year then perhaps we will find that quite a few doctors will stay back. But I still agree with you that Pakistan, at the moment, is not in a position, and will not be in a position in the very near future also, to provide that much of opportunities of the type tha you are looking for. I also agree that every doctor with basic qualification who wants to secialise looks for better opportunities.

As far as respect for humanbeings is concerned, your son, has, perhaps, observed reightly. Although professing ourselves to be Muslims, we are terribly class conscious and I view this trait with as much concern as your son does. But in a developing country, even though Islamic in nature, where overall literacy is attained by only 25 per cent of the population, where corruption is the way of life, where opportunities for honest work are lacking, where values are different, these things take quite some time to eradicate. If we go through history, I think, 1400 years ago Phophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) was the first person to do so. But do we practise it today although we call Pakistan the fortress of Islam, and proclaim overselves as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Thank God, we are better than many countries, 10 times better than our next door neighbour, India, but in human values we have a long way to go to catch up with a country like the United States of America although there are many values in USA which I would hate even to think about. We hope the Pakistani nation would one day be educated enough and become that much Islamic that it would start respecting humanbeings as humanbeings.

Replying to a statement by the Principal, Nishtar Medical College, the President said: I have taken the suggestion of Dr.Sial that we should constitute a permanent medical commission which should be headed by a most competent person, and be in session all the

time. It can draw its members from the serving community, from the civil, from the army, from the practising surgeons or from oursiders. It should sit sown, anaylise the problems and make recommendations to the Government and the agency concerned. And once a thing had been recommended and the resources made available, it should also see that it is implemented.

I also like his idea of doing research. We can also entrust to the commission the task of establishing research centres at various appropriate places and to see to it that the research done is put into practical use.

Question: I am a professor from United States and I fully endorse Dr.Khawaja's suggestions and queries. There are many Pakistanis who are well–qualified, well–trained, well–versed in their specialities and quite a few of them are interested in coming back and getting affiliated with some of the teaching institutions here. How can they do this without going through the restraints?

Answer: I have laid down a system in which we have created a talent pool in the Ministry of Health, details of which we have published and sent to our embassies all over the world wherever Pakistanis are living. Any Pakistani with qualifications in the feild of medicine, engineering, science, technology, education, any specialty, who wishes to come to Pakistan is required to send his bio–data to Secretary, Ministry of Health, and we will quickly see where we can fit him. We want to draw in as many of our good doctors and other talented people outside as we can. We want to provide them with necessary facilities.

But let us consider a situation like the one I have had occasion to go through personally. There were two persons who graduated from King Edward Medical College at the same time. One joined the army and the other went to England for higher studies and got a job in a hospital there. The person staying behind got a job in the army and was, later, sent abroad to qualify entirely on the basis of his merit. By a coincidence, both happened to qualify for FRCS the same year. On his return, the person who was already in the army was appointed as a Professor in the Army Medical College. Eleven years

elapsed when the person who had gone to England made a direct approach to me and told me that he belonged to the teaching profession, had such and such qualifications, had gained some experience in England and now sought a job in Pakistan. I told him to come quickly and my first priority for him would be the army because that was where I could get him a job without any difficulty. He thanked me for my reponse. However, I also told him about the procedure that had to be gone through. Since he was a specialist, he would be taken as a Major. After a little while, when he had acquired the necessary know–how, he would be made a Lt.Colonel and then taken on the staff of a medical college. His reply was that if I wanted to hire him he should be hired in the rank of Lt. Colonel and then straightaway sent to a medical college. I was prepared to consider even this proposition. So I referred his case to the Military Secretary's Branch, a department in the Pakistan Army which deals with all officers. The person dealing with the case came back to me and said that the man was not even half as good as any of the twelv doctors already with the army. He also told me that only one of these twelve had been appointed as a proessor, and the other were still awaiting their turn for promotion. And, so, he was informed accordingly. I relate the story in order to demonstrate to you that we do have little bit of a system. We do want to encourage and draw all Pakistanis who have some talents, some qualifications, back to Pakistan and provide them all the assistance that we can afford within our limitations.

At the same time, we also try to locate and give preference to Pakistanis with similar qualifications whose talents may not have been recognised as yet. I have tried to remove all the hurdles in doing so, to the extent that I took upon myself the responsibility of appointing them. But even then I found myself bogged down in a bottleneck. There was one Dr.Hameed Mian, a specialist in Radiology with tremendous experience, whom I met a year ago in Rawalpindi, and straighaway told him that he was hired as my advisor in Radiology and that he should go back to England, search for all the material we could buy from the United Kingdom which would be allowed to be imported and, on his return, he would be employed in the Ganga Ram Hospital, as incharge of the Departament of Radiology. After that I forgot about Dr.Hameed Mian. I thought perhaps the govern-

ment machinery had moved. But eight months passed. This man went to England and people forgot all about him. He began writing letters and sending telegrams and then we found that this person who had been sent to U.K for two months was still there for the last eight months without pay and allowances. Eventually, we got him back. I met him only yesterday when I went to attend your function and found out that for the last one–year–and–a–half he had been used in every other department but radiology. He had not been given proper importance and had a lot of difficulties which I sorted out. So we have some difficulties with our system.

I am just trying to tell you that we all are very proud to be Pakistanis. We are trying to run this administration as well as we can. But we have difficulties. The rule that we have laid down is that anybody who wants to come to Pakistan should apply to the Ministry of Health's Talent Pool, who have been instructed to let me know, within one week, whether they wanted him or not. If he was acceptable, the individual should be informed that there was a possibility for him to be hired on such and such a post on such a minimum pay and allowances and that he was most welcome if these were acceptable to him.

In addition to this, the other facility we have created is this. We have told Pakistanis living abroad: Look, we know you are in a much better environment where you have more job opportunities, your talent is recognised, you can earn a little bit more for yourself and your family. This we do not grudge you. But if you have really some thing to offer to Pakistan then don't be stingy, come to Pakistan and give it to us and we will pay for it and will also appreciate your gesture. I have also offered to pay the entire fare of the man for coming from wherever he is, in America or in Germany, and a paid–for stay in Pakistan for anthing upto two to three months. All that he has to do is to tell us about technology and know–how and better methods of teaching.

These are the two schemes that we have laid down, and they have worked to a certain extent so far. The more people get to know about them, the more encouraging will be the response. But, as in the ase of Dr.Mian, off and on we do find a little hurdle.

Question: I am from North America. Many Pakistani doctors are United States nationals. Suppose one wanted to come back to Pakistan from America, would he be welcomed as a former citizen of Pakistan who was now a citizen of United States and now wamted to come back to serve in Pakistan?

Answer: With open arms.

Answering a question about dual nationality the President said this had been approved. If a person wanted to have Pakistani nationality, he just didn't have to worry. He could go to the embassy, show his credentials and get a Pakistani passport.

Question: Does the U.S. Government accept your nationality like it accepts, for example, that of the State of Israel?

Answer: No, I don't think so. But we recognise, and you are concerned with Pakistan. As far as America is concerned, keep your American nationality and the passport. When you want to come to Pakistan we will receive you with open arms as a Pakistani coming to Pakistan

Question: Sir, my question relates to the same subject. I wrote a letter to the Pakistan Embassy a couple of weeks before we left United States, suggesting that instead of issuing passports to us, which would be against the regulation of U.S. Government, we should be given a green card or accorded recongition as a Pakistani citizen in order to get round the system of passport or the regulations of foreign countries where some of us are residing.

Answer: You tell me what you want and we will do that.

Question: When we go to the United States as foreign residents, we get green cards or immigration cards. It gives us all the privileges except that we cannot vote. And after staying there for five years we can apply for citizenship. But once we get citizenship we cannot hold the passport of any other country. So, being a Pakistani coming back here with a American Passport, the customs, and the police officers do not show mercy to us even if we speak Punjabi or Urdu. If we have green cards or something else to prove that we

are Pakistanis by birth and we are still considered Pakistani citizens, I think that can solve this problem.

Answer: We are examining this aspect.

Question: We do not like to compete with people here who, as you said, deserve jobs. But is it possible that certain higher educational institutes could be sey up where highly trained persons could be accomodated like Dr.Ummayya and Dr.Aman, who may want to come here?

Answer: You have a point. One such post–graduate institute at Lahore requires a lot of boosting up. We already have two institutions and may create a third one. But then I am really going to boost the two existing ones and create good opportunities for talented and qualified doctors, not only for acquiring post–graduate qualifications, but, more so, for persons who can teach in these institutions.

Question: May I say one thing about some of these suggestions. I would say that at an advanced age, say, 45 or 50, I think, financially speaking, these people would not need any help. Pakistani nationals who are abroad would like to have the opportunities and the facilities just to teach.

Answer: Permanently or temporarily?

Question: Parmanently or termporarily which ever.

Answer: Most welcome, most welcome. Let them be my guests when they come here. Honestly, we will welcome them if they are coming on their own and I don't have to pay. I will give them meals and provide them with a shelter and keep them as my guests. They are most welcome. Certainly we would encourage them.

Question: Sir, I just wanted to say that since the third post–graduate medical institution, the Armed Medical College, is doing such a fine job, producing quite good results, it should also be boosted up.

Answer: You are right. I should have said three.

Question: Sir, I am Professor Noor Ahmad from Quaid–i–Azam Medical College. There is one problem in the teaching institution and that is that there are two administrations at a time: the administration of the Principal and the administratiion of the Medical Superintendent.Sometimes it creates problem. So, it would be more beneficial if there is one administration in the medical colleges.

Answer: What do you say? Should the Medical Superintendent take over or the Principal?

Question: The Principal, who is more qualified.

Answer: My experience has shown, Dr.Saheb, that the more competent and talented a teacher is, the poorer he is in administration, not always but generally. But if we can have a good principal who is a good teacher and who is a good administrator as well, then you have no problem. You have King Edward Medical College. But even if you don't have it, then you have some other colleges to go to.

Question: Sir, I am a professor from Dow Medical College, Karachi, but, at this moment, would like to speak on behalf of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Karachi. This is an institution which you have already visited, is the one where a reserch centre, as suggested by our learned friend from North American, could be developed. The building has been completed and equipment ordered. I am mentioning it so that kind notice may be taken.

Answer: Yes, yes. A very good suggestion.

The President's concluding remarks.

I must thank you for your very practial suggestions and contributions towards today's discussions. I want you to take two messages from me. The first one is for you and, through you, to the other Pakistanis in America and wherever they may be. The message is that you may have gone away on one pretext or the other, but we still regard you as Pakistanis, and you are most welcome to come

and visit Pakistan any time you like. We want to draw on your talent, we want you to help Pakistan in any manner or form that you are capable of. And if this is done in an organised manner, as this group has done, then it is certainly far better. In addition, I would suggest that if, in the future, you bring in some papers, some periodicals, some written material, we will use the King Medical College as a nucleus from where we can have them printed and sent to all the medical colleges so that they can also benefit from them.

My last point to you is addressed to those Pakistanis who are at present living in U.S.A. Whenever you come to Pakistan, (and we hope this group will continue to come to Pakistan every year) you will be the guests of King Edward Medical College and all the resources of the Government of Pakistan will be put at your disposal. You may, perhaps, like to go round some other colleges as well to give them what you may have to offer, or, perhaps, we may ask King Edward Medical College to enlarge the scope of the symposia to get some other teachers, professors form other colleges also.

There are many talented people in Pakistan about whom I spoke in my address to you in Lahore. I had, then, said that we will patronise the best boy and the best girl from every college and university and send them for higher education abroad. This is the government's contribution. May be you also think about patronising one or two students, not in the field of general education, but in specialized fields, like research, medical education or in certain deisciplines which are not readily available in Pakistan so that we can acquire talented people in due course of time with some help from me and from the Government of Pakistan and some of it from you wherever you may be in the United States of America. You can, perhaps, sponsor all individuals in a particular type of discipline. Think about this, and if your Association can work it out, I think that will be a very definite contribution from you to the people of Pakistan

And as I told some of you, each one of you by being a Pakistani is an ambassador of Pakistan outside the country. We should forget all our internal differences. As I keep telling wherever I go and whenever I meet Pakistanis abroad, they are Pakistanis first and Pakistanis last. They should live like a happy community, and not

take Pakistan's internal politics into the streets of the United States of America or United Kingdom, or Germany or anywhere else. Outside the country we must live like Pakistanis, and we must poroject the image of the country as a whole and not of some faction or section or group or province or such like. I would like to think that there are some very dedicated, patriotic ambassadors of Pakistan in North America. I thank you.

Address at Inauguration of Headquarters of Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry

KARACHI
April 14, 1980

Introduction

The President, General Mohammad Zia–ul–Haq, inaugurated the headquarters of the Islamis Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchange on April 14, 1980, in the presence of the President of the Chamber, distinguished delegates and other honoured guests.

Congratulaing members of the Chamber on the establishment of the headquaters, the President hoped that it would play a pivotal role in strengthening Islamic unity in economic and commercial fields. He also reminded his audience that although a number of Muslim peoples had achieved political independence but many aspects of the lives of Muslims, particularly trade and commerce. He told them that Islam had its own special concept of commerce and industry which was opposed to all forms of exploitation, and urged the Chamber to strive towards the establishment of a trading system based on Islamic prnciples which could be emulated by others.

The President pointed out that the present–day international economic order was riddled by deficiencies and the developed countries had a hold over the economies of the developing countries which was a carry–over of the colonial age, and called upon the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry to pormote a system free from exploitation and beneficial for all countries.

Since oil revenues had generated a large amount of foreign exchange and there was no dearth of raw material in the Muslim world, he underpinned the need for utilising all their resources through mutual cooperation in the true spirit of Islam so as to promote the progress and prosperity of all mankind. For this purpose, he suggested that the ground, as well as blue prints, should be prepared for joint industrial ventures in the member States of the Chamber with the cooperation of the private sector, and was happy to know that the Chamber was already undertaking studies in the fields of shipping, engineering, insurance, preferential tariff arrangements and equitable distribution of wealth.

As a measure of the importance Pakistan attached to the organisation, the President announced diplomatic immunity for the Secretary–General as well as the Assistant Secretary–General of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a gift of 5,000 acres of land in Karachi for the construction of its headquarters building.

Mr.Governor;

His Excellency Sheikh Ismail Abu Dawood;

President of the Islamic Chamber;

Distinguished delegates; and

Honourable guests!

Assalam–o–Alaikum.

I had the honour to preside over the Second Conference of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Islamic States in this very hall sometime ago. Today, after just over a year, I am privieged to inaugurate the Headquarters of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchange. I thank you all for the honour you have done me by asking me to do so.

The success that you have achieved in a short span of just over

a year is indicative of your dedication, sincerity of purpose and hard work for the establishment of the hadquarters of your organisation. I am confident that your continued efforts will be crowned with greater success in the future. I congratulate you on the establishement of this headquarters and pray to Almighty Allah that He may in His infinite mercy help you in the tasks which you have set for yourselves.

I welcome the distingusihed delegates who have come from brotherly Islamic countries and wish them a pleasant and fruitful stay in Pakistan.

You would recall that during the last conference I had mentioned that other countries seek to strenthen their relations through economic cooperation, while we who are followers of the same religion are already bound together by common ideology, thought and perception. We are endeavoiuring to extend this unity to the economic, cultural and political fields. I hope that the headquarters of the Islamic Chamber, which I am inaugurating today, would play a pivotal tole in strengthening Islamic unity in economic and commercial fields.

Distinguished guests! As you are aware, in the next few months we shall be completing the 14th century of the Islamic calendar. During this century a number of Muslim peoples have achieved independence. Today Islamic countries are not only sovereign and independent but also occupy a unique place in the present–day world. They are playing a positive and important role in international affairs. We cannot sufficiently express our gratitude to Allah for the blessings of independence and sovereignty which He has bestowed upon us.

You must certainly have felt that although we have achieved political independence, many aspects of our lives are not in consonance with Islamic principles. Trade and commerce, particularly, need your direct attention. All of us know that, as in other fields, Islam has its own special concept of commerce and industry. Just as there are fundamental Islamic principles and basic Islamic values which govern our daily lives, similarly, guiding principles have been

laid down with regard to trade and commerce. The leading principle is honesty and justice. The Islamic way of trade and commerce is opposed to all forms of exploitation. While the Islamic code of life demands that the labourer be paid his just remuneration without delay, it also lays down that the trader should get only his reasonable share of profit and no one must ever be exploited. I invite you to look at the commercial dealings now in practice and see for yourself whether international trade today is free from profiteering and exploitation. If it is not so, then this Chamber of Commerce and Industry must strive towards the establishment of a trading system based on the Islamic principles I have mentioned above which could be emulated by others.

If we claim that Islam is a universal religion and that it is a complete code of life and that Islam is a peerless religion then it is incumbent upon us to establish a framework for the practical demonstration of our scrupulous individual and collective adherence to the principles of Islam. It is our conviction—and it is a just conviction—that Islam offers an exemplary economc system which guarantees the rights of all human beings and safeguards the interests of all classes. If we adopt this system, no labourer shall complain of inadequate remuneration for his labour nor any industrialist speak of profitless investment. Neither a trader would be unhappy about insufficient returns nor will a consumer groan under exploitation. Instead, all people would get their just share.

The present-day international economic order is riddled by deficiencies and in urgent need of change. Under that system, developed countries have a hold over the economies of the developing countries which is a carry-over of the colonial age. Third World countries, many of whom are Islamic countries, feel that they have achieved independence from colonialism in the political field but are not yet fully free from economic bondage. The developed countries continue to purchase raw materials from the developing countries cheaply while selling their manufactures, modern machinery and spare-parts at the highest possible price. The result of this policy is that developing countries are facing ever-increasing economic and financial hardships. Their progess is being jeopardized by the complications of international commerce and trade and the

crushing burden of external debts which weighs heavily on their shoulders.

The fourteenth Hijri century was marked by a universal urge on the part of Muslims all over the world for political independence. At the advent of fifteenth Hijri century, we see Islamic countries as well as other developing countries strongly voicing their views that the present economic system is based not on the principles of equity and justice but on colonial values and interests, and stands in urgent need of change. I am of the opinion that the feelings of the under–developed world can no longer be ignored just as the urge for political independence counld not be repressed. I wish to state with all the emphasis at my command that unless the international economic order is immediately restructured so as to be beneficial equally to the developed and developing countries, the consequences would be extremely grave. I hope that the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry will play an important role in this direction and will promote a system free from exploitattion and beneficial for all countries. The Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry has the distinction that its member–countries possess almost all economic inputs for progress and prosperity. By the Grace of Allah, the oi revenues have generated a large amount of foreign exchange. Skilled manpower is available in abundance. There is no dearth of raw material. The deficiency in the technological field can be overcome in a short period through a judicious use of capable personnel and foreign exchange. What is needed its that we should utilise all our resources through mutual cooperation in the true spirit of Islam so as to promote the progress and prosperity of all mankind. Therefore, I feel that the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry should set itself the important task of preparing the ground for joint industrial venture in the various member States with the cooperation of the private sector. The Islamic Chamber should prepare the blue prints of practicable industrial and agricultural plans for such ventures so as to enable the Islamic world to emerge into a new age of trade and industry.

His Excellency Sheikh Ismail Abu Dawood has mentioned in his address that the Islamic Chamber is undertaking studies in the fields of shipping, engineering, insurance, perferential tariff arrangements

and equitable distribution of wealth. This is a happy augury. I would say that commercial cooperation among Islamic countries should be promoted to the extent that manufactures of Islamic countries automatically appeal to the consumers as desirable products. An improved industrial policy, better trading principles, equitable profits and avoidance ofdouble taxation, all these could contribute towards the achievement of our aims and objectives.

I thank the first General Assembly of Islamic Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchange and His Excellency Sheikh Ismail Dawood for their warm sentiments and good wishes for the people and Government of Pakistan and for myself. I assure them that, *Insha Allah*, they would find that the people and the Government of Pakistan are ready to undertake all efforts which would promote progress and unity among Islamic countries. It wil be our privilege to extend full cooperation to the Islamic Chamber in making it an active and successful organisation. It is with this in view that the status of the Islamic Chamber's Headquarters has been determined by the Government of Pakistan. It gives me pleasure to announce that the Secretary–General and the Assistant Secretay–General of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce have been granted diplomatic immunities and privileges. Necessary vehicles for official use and office equilpment for the Chamber have also been exempted from custom duties. Steps in this connection have already been taken.

I am glad that the Islamic Chamber has selected a 5,000 square yard piece of land for the construction of its headquarters in Karachi. On behalf of the Government of Pakistan, I am happy to announce the gift of this land to the Islamic Chamber and am confident that the buildiung to be constructed on this land will be a model of Isamic architecture reflecting its lofty ideals. *Insha Allah*, these headquarters will prove a mile–stone in the Islamic countries' march towards commercial and industrial progress.

I thank you once again for the honour you have given me today. My prayers and best wishes are with with you.

With these words, I formallv announce the inauguration of the

Headquarters of Islamic Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchange.

Long live Pakistan! Long live Islamic unity!

The President's Press Conference

RAWALPINDI
April 21, 1980

Introduction

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, visited Salisbury on the occasion of Zimbabwe's independence celebrations, and, on his return, held a Press Conference to give an account of what transpired there. Describing Zimbabwe's independence as a historic event which will have a far-reaching impact on developments in Southern Africa, he recalled with stisfaction Pakistan's assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence. He also informed journalists taht he had promised Prime Minister Mogabe that Pakistan would extend all possible assistance to his country in the future also, and that a Pakistan delegation would shortly be visiting Salisbury for discussing the type of assistance which it could provide in various fields of national reconstruction.

He spoke about the appreciation by the African States of Pakistan's unwavering support to national liberation movements like PLO, Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, SWAPO and others.

He also spoke about his meetings in Salisbury with a number of world leader: Prime Minister Mrs.Indira Gandhi of India, President Shagari of Nigeria, Prime Miniter Malcom Frazer of Australia, Vice-President Sergei Kraigher of Yugoslavia, U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Foreign Minister Hung Hua of China, Foreign

Minister Gensher of West Germany and British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.

His presence in Salisbury provided an opportunity to his Advisor on Foreign Affairs, Agha Shahi, to meet his counterparts from various countries, specially form Morrocco and Libya, with whom he exchanged views on possible contructive action in regard to the current situation in the region that might be taken by the eleventh session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference and with regard to bilateral relations. He himself had useful and wide–ranging talks with the Secretary–General of the Organisation of Islamic Conference on some of the important items on the agenda of the 11th session of the Conference relating to Palestine, Al–Quds, Afghanistan and the situation in South Asia.

He informed that there had been no reassuring developments concerning the Afghanistan situation: the Soviet military occupation continued and the number of Afghan refugees coming to Pakistan kept on increasing. He hoped that the forthcoming Islamic Conference would be able to maintain its concern for immediate withdrawal of Afghanistan, and, at the same time, give consideration to bringing about a peaceful and honourable resolutiion of the crisis.

He corrected certain unwarranted interpretations and mis–reporting of some of the remarks which he made to the press in Salisbury. He said Pakistan's policy with regard to Afghanistan had remained consistent and one of scrupulous adherence to the principles of non–interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Pakistan, he made it clear, had not allowed itself to become a condict for the flow of arms into Afghanistan.

He informed a questioner that his talks, in Salisbury, with Mrs. Indira Gandhi concerned the situation in Afghanistan and in the region as a whole and had been held in a very congenial atmosphere and he expected wholesome results to flow from them.

He told another questioner that the delegation to Zimbabwe would find out the possibilities of economic cooperation and collaboration between the two countries but its composition had not yet

been finalised.

Answering another question, he denied that Mrs.Indira Gandhi had pressed him, during their last meeting, for a regional conference on Afghanistan at which the Babrak Karmal regime should also be represented. He also denied that there was any plan for a meeting between him and the Prime Minister of India in the near future.

In reply to a question about the prospects for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, he said that such a desired consumation could be achieved only with a lot of patience and hard work which Pakistan was making.

In regard to a question about the Iraq–Iran situation and the attitude of Muslim countries to the developing tension in that area, he said that he had general discussion about it with the Secretary–General of OIC and both had agreed the issue should be the concern of all Muslim States. He dismissed as hypothetical a question about Pakistan's stand in the event of a confrontatioin between Iran and U.S.A.

Questioned about any feelers about direct talks on Afghanistan between Pakistan and Soviet Russia starting through the intermediary of some other country, he said that the two countries were linked diplomatically and there had been a continuous dialogue between them on the subject.

Asked about the possibility of the Kashmir issue being raised at the Islamic Foreign Miniters' Conference or whether efforts had ever been made to do so during the past 12 years, he said he was not aware of the Conference's record on the issue but it had surely been done at the United Nations and Pakistan's stand was based on principles.

Queried if he had talked to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, about Pakistan's re–entry into the Commonwealth, he answered in the affirmative and pointed out to a very elaborate statement he had made in this connection at his press conference in Salisbury. But he denied that there were any compulsions to do so.

Referring to Afghanistan's five–point plan for security and peace in the rgion, he said Pakistan wa committed to honour the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference on recognition of the present Afghan regime and to hold bilateral talks with it.

With regard to a question about the formation of a Federal Advisory Council, he siad he would give details about it at his next press conference.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Press!

Generally, I hold a press conference on my return from a foreign tour. Because of some delay in my arrival last night, I thought I would not like to bother you at a somewhat uncomfortable hour. So this press conference is being held today.

As you are aware, I returned last night from Zimbabwe where I participated in its independence celebrations. On my way back, my party and I were privileged to stop over in Saudi Arabia in order to perform Umra and to visit Madina as well.

The attainment of independence by Zimbabwe is an historic event and will have a far–reaching impact on developments in Southern Africa. The unrelenting struggle for freedom waged by the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front has now been crowned with success and Zimbabwe has taken a coveted place in the international community.

It has been our privilege to assist the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence, both politically and materially, to the best of our ability, and we share with them the joy of freedom.

I have promised Prime Minister Mogabe that Pakistan will extend all possible assistence in the future also. During my stay in Salisbury, I had the opportunity of meeting the President of Zimbabwe as well as Prime Minister Robert Mogabe with whom I had fruitful exchange of views in a very warm and very cordial atmosphere.

A delegation from Pakistan will shortly be visiting Salisbury to discuss the type of assistance which Pakistan could provide to Zimbabwe in various fields of national reconstruction. I am deeply impressed by the spirit of moderation and reconciliation that animated the Prime Minister's announcements on the historic occasion of Zimbabwe's independence. The deep sincerity with which he thanked me for Pakistan's modest assistance in his country's struggle for independence has been a moving experience for me. It is clear that Pakistan's unwavering support of national liberation movements, namely the PLO, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, SWAPO and other such struggles, has evoked deep appreciation of the African States.

During my three–day stay in Salisbury, I had meetings with a number of world leaders. My talks with Mrs.Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, were most useful. I also met President Shagari of Nigeria; Mr.Malcom Frazer, Prime Minister of Australia; Vice–President of Yugoslavia, Mr.Sergei Kragher; United Nations Secretary–General, Mr.Kurt Waldheim; Foreign Minister of China, Mr.Hung Hua; Foreign Minister of Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Genseher, and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrignton.

Our presence in Salisbury provided an opportunity to Mr.Agha Shai, Advisor on Foreign Affairs, to meet his countrerpars, among whom were the Foreign Ministers of Morocco and Libya. With the former, the Advisor discussed the possiblity of constructive action that might be taken by the eleventh session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in regard to the current situation in the region. The Advisor also had useful exchange of views with the Foreign Minister of Libya concerning bilatertal relations.

I met the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, Dr.Habib Chatti, at Jeddah, and had a very useful and wide–ranging talks with him on some of the important questions on the agenda of the 11th session of the Conference, which are Palestine, Al–Quds, Afghanistan and the situation in this region since the extraordinary session of the Conference in January.

There have been no reassuring developments concerning the Afghanistan situation. The Soviet military occupation continues and

the number of Afghan refugees coming to Pakistan keeps on increasing. The forthcoming session of the Conference will, no doubt, address itself to this tragic situation once again. I am confident that the Conference will be able to maintain its concern on the need for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and, at the same time, give consideration to bringing about a peaceful and honourable resolution of the crisis which would enable the Afghan refugees in Pakistan to return to their homes in Afghanistan in conditions of security and honour.

In this context, I would like to take the opportunity to correct certain unwarranted interpretations and mis–reporting of some of my remarks to the press in Salisbury.

Our policy in regard to the situation in Afghanistan has remained consistent. It is one of scrupulous adherence to the principles of non–interference in the internal affairs of other countries and of not allowing Pakistan to become a conduit for the flow of arms into Afghanistan.

With these remarks I will conclude my opinion statement. You are now free to ask any questions you may like, but please restrict them to the subject under discussion.

Question: Mr.President Would you please tell us about you stand during the course of your talks with Mrs.Indira Gandhi on American arms supply to Pakistan in view of the situation in Afghanistan.

Answer: Press statements have already been issued on the subject. During the talks between myself and Mrs.Indira Gandhi we discussed the situation in Afghanistan and in the region as a whole and these were held in a very congenial atmosphere and I expect wholesome results to flow from these.

Question: Sir, in the first instance we heard that the Indian Prime Minister had not adopted a hardline in this regard, but "Jung" and other newspapers have today published a statement by Mrs.Indira Gandhi in which she has criticised Pakistan.

Answer: Only she can elucidate. But in the talks with me she had taken the stand which I just informed you about. We will see what results accue from it.

Question: Sir, what sort of future cooperatioon is expected between Pakistan and Zimbabwe? It has been reported that a delegation would be going to Zimbabwe. What would be the composition of the delegation and what would be its purpose?

Answer: I have said in my statement that a delegation is to go to Zimbabwe to find out the possibilities of economic cooperation and collaboration and any technical assistance in the field of education, technical training or any other particular field, one of which I know is railways. We have not yet finalised the composition of the delegation, but it will be done within the next few days.

Question: Sir, referring to your meeting with Mr.Indira Gandhi,will it be true to say that while the Government of Pakistan continues to adhere to the original stand that it will not talk to the government in Afghanistan until and unless Soviet troops withdraw, Mrs.Indira Gandhi has been pressing for a regional conference, including the Babrak Karmal regime?

Answer: This was not the subject of our discussion. But the policy of the Government of Pakistan on that issue is quite clear. We are bound by the resolution of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic Conference in this regard and that, I am sure, is clear to you all.

Question: Sir, do we expect a meeting between you and the Prime Minister of India in the near future?

Answer: No. I have no plan as such, but there is always a possibility. You should know that a meeting at that level requires a lot of preparation.

Question: Sir, Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is now almost four months old and during this time a number of efforts have been made by different countries, including Pakistan, to seek Soviet withdrawal but it seems not much headway has been made. How do you

visualise the situation as of today?

Answer: My reading of the situation is the same as yours. The solution to the problem lies in withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to achieve which, I think, one has to work consistently. It requires a lot of patience and hard work, and, I think, we must not be lacking in making efforts in this regard.

Question: Sir, you met Mr. Habib Chatti in Jeddah. Did you discuss the Iran–Iraq situation and attitude of the Muslim countries in relation to the developing tension in that area.

Answer: We discussed, in general terms, the situation in the region, the Iran–Iraq relations, and this should be the concern of all Muslim states.

Question: Sir, my question is related to my previous one. In the event of a confrontation between the United States and Iran in any form, what would be the stand of Pakistan? Would it stand by the Muslim countries?

Answer: This is a hypothetical question.

Question: Sir, did you have any talk with the Saudi monarch?

Answer: No. I had a very informal telephonic conversation with His Majesty, whom I thanked for the hospitality and for giving me the privilege that I and my delegation enjoyed.

Question: Sir, is there any possibility, or any feelers, about direct talks between Pakistan and Moscow through some third country?

Answer: Why feelers? We have diplomatic links with the Soviet Union and there has been a continuous dialogue on the subject.

Question: Sir, is there any possibility of the Kashmir issue being raised at the Foreign Ministers' Conference. But we have one

forum for doing so, the United Nations forum, where we have also raised this issue in the context of the Simla Agreement, and Pakistan's stand on this is based on principles.

Answer: Yes, we did. I made a very elabroate statement at my Press conference in Salisbury. I hope you are aware of it.

Question: Sir, what are the compulsions for Pakistan to get into the Commonwealth again?

Answer: No compulsions. But it gives you an additional forum which Pakistan should not deny itself. I think it is a very effective forum.

Question: Sir, Afghanistan has proposed a five–point plan for what it calls security and peace in this region. What is Pakistan's response to that proposal?

Answer: Pakistan is commited, I will repeat again, to the resolution of Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference with regard to recognition of the present regime in Afghanistan and with regard to bilateral talks, and we intend to honour that commitment.

Question: Sir, is there any programme for a Federal Advisory Council?

Answer: I will give more details in this connection at my next Press Conference.

Journalists: Thank you, sir,

President: Thank you so much.

President's Address at Pakistan International School

PEKING
May 2, 1980

Introduction

Speaking at the Pakistan International School in Peking, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, heartily congratulated the Principal, the staff and the students of the school on the good standard that they had been able to acquire.

He told those assembled on the occasion that education was not a mere matter of reading and writing. It was a vast subject, top of which was creating accomodation and understanding among humanbeings. He said that he was happy that Pakistan was playing some part in doing just this and, thus, performing a little bit of its duty reasonably well.

He also praised the spirit pervading the students, and the guidance and leadership provided by the Principal and the staff of the school. "They are certainly far superior than I have seen in many other institutions," he remarked.

Mr. Principal;

Ambassador Younus;

Ladiers, gentlemen, and students and parents of Pakistan International School, Peking!

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be here today afternoon with you. In fact, I tell you frankly that I have been moved by the spirit I have seen among the young students of this school. And I hope in the years to come you who have been in a Pakistani school will serve as ambassadors of the international community.

I came here about two years ago and I saw the school, and I wanted it to be a little better than I found it at that time.

This time I have not only visited your school but also seen a glimpse of the standard of education that it imparts. And on my own behalf, and on behalf of my colleagues and delegation, I most heartily congratulate the Principal, the staff and the students of this school for acquiring a fairly good standard of education.

In my opinion, education is not only a matter of reading and writing; it is a very vast subject, top of which is creation of accomodation and understanding among humanbeings. If Pakistan is playing some part in educating the international community about understanding amongst the nationals of various countries then we are happy that we are doing a little bit of our duty reasonably successfully.

I know all educational institutions generally suffer from vaious drawbacks. Financial limitation always comes in the way. But I assure you that the Pakistan Government has been much concerned over its educational institutions not only inside the country but also outside it, more so those which are run by Pakistan Embassies abroad. I have seen a large number of them. And I want to assure you that the spirit I have seen in this school today amongst its students, and the guidance and leadership that is being provided by its Principal and the staff, are certainly far superior than I have seen in many

other institutions.

I congratulate you all, specially those students who have participated in impressive functions comprising various items, although they may or may not have attained the standard of professional and mature performers. It touched my heart when I saw little girls from Iran, from Zambia and from many other countries stealing the show.

Inaugural Address at 11th Session of Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference

ISLAMABAD
May 17, 1980

Introduction

The President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, inaugurated the 11th session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in Islamabad on May 17, 1980, and told the foregathered Islamic Foreign Ministers and other distinguished delegates that Pakistan's dedication to Islam and its friendship for the Muslim peoples was by no means a product of recent development and quoted a statement by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah five years before Pakistan came into being. He said the basic element governing Pakistan's desire to maintain brotherly relations with Muslim countries today, as in the past, was the belief that Muslim of the world, no matter where they lived, partook of the same joys and sorrows.

Speaking of the new challenges with which the Islamic world was faced today, the President listed alien occupation of Qibla-e-Awal; usurpation of Arab lands; deprivation of the Palestinian refugees of their just rights; threats faced by Iran and the massive presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

About Afghanistan, which had become the focus of attention of the entire world, the President said that despite the call by a great majority of the members of the U.N. General Assembly and the unanimous demand of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference no improvement had taken place in the situation there and stressed

that the world community must resolve not to relent until the right of the Afghan people to live in their own country with dignity and honour had been restored. He also suggested that the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference should constitute a permanent committee whose sole object would be to keep constant watch on the developments in Afghanistan and explore ways and means to implement the decision which had already been taken.

Pleading for finding a peaceful solution to the tregedy of Afghanistan so as to ensure that the people of that country could live in freesom, honour and dignity, he pointed out that this had to be done not only because the U.N. Charter enshrined the principles of peaceful co-existence but also because the people of Pakistan had centuries-old religious and cultural ties with Afghanistan and were naturally perturbed at the plight of their Afghan brethern. Another reason for Pakistan's concern about the Afghanistan situation, he said, was the large number of Afghan citizens had been forced to take refugee in Pakistan which was providing them with the basic necessities of life only on humanitarian grounds and in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood.

About Middle East, the President reiterated Pakistan's firm stand that the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination be unambiguously acknowledged, Israel should withdraw from all occupied territories, including Bait-ul-Maqdas, and the basic national rights be restored to the Palestinian people so that they could establish an independent and sovereign state of their own. He, therefore, advised the Conference to help find a just and equitable solution of this grave issue and also to bear in mind that aggression against one of the Muslim countries today could lead to another Muslim country becoming a victim of such an aggression tomorrow.

While declaring that the success of the Islamic revolution in Iran was a matter of great importance for the Muslim world, the President said that the Iraninas had every right to continue to wage an epic stuggle for evolving a new society without outside interference or pressure.

He also deplored the extremely dangerous trendency on the part

of the Super Powers to constantly intefere in the affairs of the smaller countries instead of allowing them an opportunity to solve their problems themselve which could reduce growing tension in the area.

He also pointed out the long-standing and unresolved problem of the State of Jammu and Kashmir whose people had yet to exercise their right of self-determination and a settlement of which would greatly contribute to the betterment of Indo-Pakistn relations so indispensible for peace and stability of this region.

The President emphasised upon the delegates the supreme task of achieving unity and solidarity of the Muslim world, the importance of defence and security of Millat-e-Islamia and preservation of Islamic heritage and identity.

Your Excellency Mr.Chairman Boucetta;

Your Excellency Mr.Habib Chatti;

Secretary General of the Islamic Conference;

Respected Foreign Ministers;

Distinguished Delegates;

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam–o–Alaikum.

It is a great honour for me and my country to host the 11th regular meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference. We had been similarly honoured four months ago when the Capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was chosen as the venue of the Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference. The honour conferred upon us accords with the wishes of our people and is a faithful reflection of our basic ideology. The special significance of our deliberations today is that they are taking place on the eve of the Fitteenth Century Hijrah. We are grateful to the Islamic

Conference and bow our heads to Almighty Allah for this great honour bestowed upon us and pray that our meeting may be crowned with success.

Pakistan's dedication to Islam and its friendship for the Muslim peoples is by no means a product of recent developments. It is rooted in our common faith and has found expression at all times not only after the establishment of Pakistan but also during the period when we were struggling for our independence. I recall that five years before Pakistan came into existence, Hazrat Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of our Nation, had stated on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr celebrations as follows:

> "Today, when we are engaged in the struggle for our independence, we should not forget those of our brethren in other parts of the world who are also striving for the same goal. Let us pray for their success as also for those Muslim countries which by the Grace of God Almighty are already sovereign and independent so that they should have Divine assistance in the preservation of their freedom and independence."

The basic element governing our desire to maintain brotherly relations with Muslim countries today, as in the past, is the belief that the Muslims of the world, no matter where they live, what dress they wear, what language they speak, belong to one Ummah. They partake of the same joys and sorrows. They are a united body and if any harm comes to one member of this body it is felt by the rest of the Ummah. Similarly, when our brethren anywhere achieve success all of us share in its celebration. It is precisely for this reason that we have stood by our Muslim brothers in prosperity and in adversity, whether they belong to a far-flung area in Africa or a remote island in the Far East, whether they are fighting against recial discrimination or against imperialist domination. We share the joys of those African countries which have in the recent past attained independence and declare our total solidarity with those who are today engaged in a struggle against all forms of exploitatiion. The independence achieved by Muslims in Africa is a valuable contribution to the struggle and solidarity of the Islamic world. I am convinced that these brothers of ours will join hands with fellow Muslims elsewhere in a common endeavour to promote world peace

and prosperity.

Excellencies! The Islamic world is today facing new challenges which are not confined to any one front. These challenges have many ramifications. On the one hand, the Muslim world is facing an ideological challenge while, on the other, it is being subjected to economic exploitation. Not only are attempts being made to subvert our unity and solidarity but new dangers are being created which threaten the sovereignty and independence of the Muslim countries. Our Qibla-e-Awwal is under alien occupation, Arab lands have been usured, Palestinian refugees are deprived of their just rights, Iran continues to face threats and there is massive presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

It is my earnest hope that this Conference of the Islamic Foreign Ministers will consider all these problems, and the delegates, in all their wisdom and sagacity, will endeavour to come up with practicable remedies. Since it is not possible for me in this brief address to cover all issues, past and present, ideologial and mundane, I shall draw your attention only to some vital and fundamental problems.

First of all, I wish to speak of Afghanistan which is today the focus of attention of the entire world. The Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference considered this issue in January and certain resolutions were adopted to deal with the situation. It is a matter of great regret that despite the call by a great majority of the members of the U.N. General Assembly and the unanimous demand of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference no improvement has taken place in the situation in Afghanistan . Even now, foreign troops are there in large numbers, even now the people of that country are deprived of their sovereign right to determine their form of Government and to order their lives in accordance with their traditions, and even now men, women and children in Afghanistan are being obliged to leave their hearths and homes because of the situation prevailing in that country. Can this state of affairs be allowed to continue for an indefinite period? Will the children and the old and the helpless people continue to be rendered homeless? Is it not their inalienable right to live in their own country with dignity and honour and is it not the duty of the entire international community must resolve not to rest unitl this is done?

This Conference must consider the problem in all its aspects and

give thought to the constitution of a permanent committee whose sole object should be to keep constant watch on the developments in Afghanistan and explore ways and means to implement the decisions which have been taken.

The delegates should consider the Afghanistan situatiion in all its seriousness in the light of the events of the past four months and devote their full energies to finding a speedy and peaceful solution to the tragedy of Afghanistan so as to ensure that the people of that country can live their lives in freedom, honour and dignity.

In making this plea I have in mind not only the principles of peaceful co-existence enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations but also the fact that the people of Pakistan have centuries-old religious and cultural ties with a Afghanistan and are naturally perturbed at the plight of our Afghan brethren.

I take this opportunity to reiterate that we shall support any international effort which may lead to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the restoration of the independent and non–aligned status of that country.

Another reason for Pakistan's concern about the Afghanistan situation is that a large number of Afghan citizens has been forced to take refuge on our soil because of the deteriorating situation in their own country. Among these refugees, whose number now exceeds seven hundred and fifty thousand, are old men, women and children. It is necessary to ponder over the question as to why these hundreds of thosands of people have been forced to leave the security and confort of their own hearths and homes and to face the rigours of living under the open skies. We all know that no-body leaves his own home without reason. The tragedy of these helpless refugees is that their country is occupied by alien troops and their lives, their honour and their cherished values are not safe.

We are providing these Afghan refugees with the basic necessities of life only on humanitarian grounds and in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood, and shall, Insha Allah, continue to do so despite our limited resources. In this connection, certain international agencies

and countries have been extending a helping hand to us for which the people and Government of Pakistan are very grateful.

The Middle East is another area of conflict. Israel continues to flout all canons of morality, justice and the universally accepted principles of international behaviour. The so-called peace efforts of Israel are in fact a cloak for its desire to perpetuate its occupation of Arab lands. The firm stand of the Government of Pakistan is that the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination be unambiguously acknowledged, Israel should withdraw from all occupied territories, including Bait-ul-Maqdas, and the Palestinian people be restored their basic national rights so that they can establish an independent and sovereign State in their own homeland. We are of the firm belief that until these demands are met there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East.

Israel is totally impervious to world opinion and remains in occupation of Arab lands. It is setting up Jewish settlements on lands usurped by it and is continuing its aggression against Lebanon. These Israeli acts constitute a grave danger to world peace and security. This Conference must consider this grave issue and help find a just and equitable solution.

Here I consider it necessary to emphasise that the Middle East crisis is not a problem which concerns the Arab countries alone, nor is the situation in Afghanistan the sole concern of its immediate neighbours, nor are the difficulties faced by Iran the worry of only that country. All these issues whether they relate to Africa or to Asia are of immediate concern to the entire Muslim world. If we do not unanimously condemn aggression aganist one Muslim country today, any one of our countries could become the victim of such an aggression tomorrow.

Distinguished Delegates! The success of the Islamic revolution in Iran is a matter of great importance for the Muslim world. The Iranian people are waging an epic struggle to evolve a new society. They have every right to continue this mission without outside interference or pressure. We support them whole-heartedly in achieving the objectives of their Islamic revolution.

For this reason, we are gravely concerned over the pressure being exerted on Iran and the threat of use of force against it. The recent decision by the U.S.Government to free its hostages in Iran through a military operation was inappropriate and regrettable. Immediately upon receiving news of the abortive attempt, we unhesitatingly condemned it and expressed our spontaneous solidarity with our Iranian brethren. We feel that the issue of the hostages can be resolved only through mutual consultation and peaceful negotiation and not through use or the threat of the use of force.

The fourth isssue to which I wish to draw your attention is the unfortunate tendency on the part of the super powers to constantly interfere in the affairs of the smaller countries, instead of allowing them an opportunity to solve their problems themselves. This tendency is extremely dangerous. No foreign power can be allowed to impose its own ideology on peoples against their wishes. It is for this reason that while we vehemently oppose the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, we also oppose the presence of U.S. naval forces which have been deployed in a threatening posture in the vicinity of Iran.

This Conference will have to give serious attention to this attitude of the super powers and to evolve proposals whereby the growing tension in the area can be reduced and the dangers to regional and international peace eliminated.

Yet another vital issue is the long-standing and unresolved problem of the State of Jammu and Kashmir whose people have yet to exercise their right of self-determination. A settlement of this issue will greatly contribute to the betterment of Indo-Pakistan relations and which is indispensible for peace and stability of this region. We are committed to the resolution of this issue in the spirit of the Simla Agreement and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

Honourable Delegates! I am convinced that you will review all the vital problems facing the Muslim world with wisdom and sagacity during the next four days and after mature deliberations will reach decisions which will benefit all our peoples. But if you permit me, I

would also like to make a few suggestions in this regard.

The first one concerns the unity and solidarity of the Muslim world. As we know, the unity of the Muslim Ummah has received the greatest emphasis in the Holy Quran. Today, by the Grace of God, the vast bulk of Muslim countries are independent. Although they are situated in different parts of the world they share a common faith, the twin and immortal fountainheads of which are the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). We must base our unity on these sources of wisdom and should endeavour to ensure that if any two members of the Ummah are involved in a difference or misunderstanding it should be amicably resolved. This is the injunction of our faith.

The second aspect is defence and security of the Millat-e-Islamia, one requirement of which will be met through its unity and cohesion. However, in this connection there is a need for futher effort. During the last Conference I had proposed that thought be given to the collective security of the Muslim Ummah and I am happy that most of the delegates favoured the proposal, and that it is now included in the agenda of this meeting. When I made the proposal, it was not my intention that the armed forces of all the Muslim countries should be put under the command of a supreme commander. Nor it was my intention that we should unite our forces to commit aggression against any country. My objective was simply that we should view the dangers facing the security of the Muslim countries in the context of one Ummah, one Millat and one entity. We should develop a common outlook. We should use our mineral, manpower, agriclutural, industrial and other resources for collective benefits and collective progress. God Almighty has showered so many blessings on Muslims in various forms that if we unite and utilise them for our supreme cause no one dare cast an evil eye on us.

My third and last suggestion is that we should try to preserve our Islamic heritage and identity. The resurgence of Islam today is a very welcome phenomenon. There is an awareness among people living in far-flung parts of the Muslim world that we should revive our Islamic values and develop our countries within our Islamic framework. An international Islamic organisation has produced a

booklet, "Universal Islamic Declaration".This declaration deals effectively with the problems confronting Muslims at the present time. A copy of this brochure has been placed on your desks. I am hopeful that you will find it thought-provoking.

Distinguished Guests! The resurgence of Islam and awareness of its fundamental values is the mainspring of our actions. You would have seen some manifestation of this in the enthusiasm of our people and the warmth with which the Pakistani people have welcomed you in their midst. It is this spirit of Islamic brotherhood which prompts us, on the one hand, to provide succour and shelter to our unfortunate Afghan brethren and, on the other, to endeavour that our Palestinian brothers attain their just rights. We shall continue in our efforts till the Palestinian people succeed in establishing their own State and we stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the Masjid-Al-Aqsa in thanksginving to Almighty Allah for His bounty.

The sentiments which I have voiced here today are not mine alone. They are an echo of the profound feelings of the eighty million people of Pakistan who are second to none in their devotion to the cause of Islam and the welfare of their Muslim brethren. For our people, this Conference is an occasion for the expression of their hopes and the realisation of their aspirations. I am fully confident that the deliberatiions you make and the decisions you take in the next few days will contribute to the unity, solidarity and the spiritual renaissance of the Millat-e-Islamia. By the Grace of Almighty Allah, the world of Islam is today imbued with tremendous fervour and is on the march. I hope and pray that this Conference will provide them with the correct decisions and guidance which they need and look forward to take them to their glorious destiny. May Allah bless your efforts with all success. Ameen.

Long live Pakistan!

Long live Islamic solidarity!

Inaugural Address by President at the International Conference on Advances in Earth Sciences

ISLAMABAD
June 22, 1980

Introduction

Welcoming delegates, some of them fom China and Britain, to the International Conference on Earth Sciences held in Islamabad from June 22, 1980, the President told them in his inaugural address that Pakistan was not only desirous of research promotiion in the fields of science and technology but was making necessary effort in this respect, specially with regard to research for increase in agricultural production and discovery of the country's resources of energy and their development.

He, however, said that Pakistan had still to go a long way to achieve its objectives and expected scientsits and engineers, as also universities and research institutions to find a solution, through their research of problems facing the country.

The President also said that it was necessary to benefit from the efforts of individual countries and to coordinate their work to mutual advantage and hoped that the Pakistan, Chinese and British scientists, engineers and surveyors would consider all aspects which were important for the present and the future, such as floods, mineral wealth, underground resources of energy, hazards of earthquakes.

He also emphasised the need for a constant liaison and coordination between the sciences and their application, and hoped the

Karakorum Project, 1980, which was the theme of the conference, would prove extremely useful in this respect.

Federal Education Minister, Mr.Muhammad Ali Hoti;

Vice-Chancellor of the Quaid-i-Azam Unversity, Dr.Ahmed Mohiuddin;

Former President of the Royal Geographical Society, Lord Shackleton;

Leader of the Chinese delegations prof.Zhang;

Honourable delegates; and

Distinguished Guests!

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I am thankful to you for giving me the honour to inaugurate the International Conference on Earth Sciences. I am also thankful to the Royal Geographical Society that it selected the great Karakorum Range as its subject for scientific research to celelbrate its 150th anniversary. I welcome all participants to this important conference, particularly foreign delegates, and I hope necessary facilities will be available to them to make the expedition a success.

A welcome aspect of this conference is that besides Pakistan, prominent experts from our great neighbour, the People's Republic of China and from a developed country of the West, Britain, are taking part in it. In the modern times the task of scientific research has become so complicated and expensive that countries instead of monopolising science and technology should undertake the work with one another's association. It is necessary that the developed and the developing countries should co-operate with one another in this so that the entire human race should benefit simultaneously from scientific knowledge. This association and co-operation will

help accelerate the speed of scientific advancement.

Pakistan is not only desirous of research promotion in the field of science and technology but is making necessary effort in this respect within its resources. Besides other sectors we are concentrating on two aspects: (1) research for increase in agricultural productivety, and (2) discovery of the country's resources of energy and their development.

In the first sector, the Pakistan Agricultural Research Council is endeavouring to bring about a revolution with the help of modern research so that we should not only be self-sufficient in agricultural requirements but should also meet the needs of other countries. In the field of development of energy, we are trying to discover all resources of energy, and develop the existing ones so that our energy requirements are met locally. In this connection, the sources of energy which are being given special attention include, besides search for oil, wind, hydro, bio–gas, geo–thermal energy resources etc. We hope that by developing these sources we would attain self–sufficiency in the field of energy.

In the context of Pakistan, I wish to emphasise that we have reached a stage in the field of science and technology, including Earth Sciences, where we have left behind the dark ages of the past. But we have to go a long way to achieve our objective. By the Grace of God we have among us noted and competent scientists who are working with devotion in their repective fields. They need further opportunities and facilities to advance their work. This is being looked after. The Government has high hopes that these experts who are working in the field of agriculture, water and mineral resources, would achieve results. In many sectors of life, such as agriculture, industries, fuel and power, the advancement to a large extent is due to their efforts. I expect from these scientists and engineers, as also from our universities and research institutions, that with their research they should find solution of problems facing Pakistan. I have in mind particularly those research sectors on which depends our agricultural, industrial and mineral development.

Like Pakistan, other countries are also engaged in research in

science and technology to suit their requirements and meet their priorities. I feel very stongly that it is necessary to benefit from the efforts of idividual countries and to coordinate their work to mutual advantage. The Karakorum Project 1980 is an admirable example of such international association and cooperation. I hope that the Pakistani, Chinese and British scientists, engineers and surveyors will consider all those aspects which are important for the present and the future.

I have in view those research fields which relate to floods, mineral wealth, underground resources of energy, hazards of earthquakes and their prevention.Surely in your capacity as experts in Earth Sciences when you undertake this expedition, new vistas of research will dawn on you.

I wish this tripartite association is extended to other countries and other centres of research so that more and more people should benefit from it. The Pakistan Government will cooperate to the extent possible.

The other thing I want to emphasise is the need for a constant liaison and coordination between the sciences and their application. What I mean is that the research should be put to test in practical life and the information gathered in actual expeditions should be used in the advancement of research itself. The Karakorum Project 1980 will, by the Grace of God, prove estremely useful in this repect. I hope that besides the civil, mechanical and electrical engineers, experts in Geology, Geophysics and Science of Survey who are associated with this Project will bring out important and useful conclusions. Moveover, it is a rare opportunity for Pakistani experts in scientific and research field to work in cooperation wifh the delegates of the People's Republic of China, on the one hand, and the representatives of the developed countries like Britain, on the other. We can learn a lot from these countries in the field of science and technology.

I hope that Pakistani scientists and experts will not only benefit fully from this Conference but will also help make it a success.

For us, the Karakorum range is important as it links our country

with our great neighbour, the People's Republic of China, with whose cooperation the great Karakorum Highway has been constructed. Rather this region of Pakistan has been the centre of attraction of great scientists and travellers in the past. The geographical information collected by those travellers and scientists with their experience is a valuable contribution to the Earth Sciences.

I am sure that after the three-day Islamabad Conference, the expedition which will be sent to Karakorum, will be more fruitful and meaningful than those of the past scientists and experts.

The inspiration behind this moot and the proposed expedition is the Royal Geographical Society, which is serving the science of Geography for the last 150 years.

The Society has made great contribution in collecting information about land and sea landmarks and about new species of vegetation. I hop the proposed expedition wil be successful.

We have deep relations with the People's Republic of China resulting in useful cooperation and association in many fields. I am happy that our Chinese guests are present here. We apprecialte their association with respect and expect that the friendship and cooperation between the two countries will be further promoted.

I also appreciate the efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam University which has organised this important internaional conference. Such a conference is in accordance with its fundmental objectives. I hope that this University will continue to perform the same role in the field of research and knowledge.

I once again thank you for inviting me to inaugurate this conference. I wish to pray that God Almighty may grant success to your efforts which should to the welfare of humanity. Ameen.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Address at the Jubilee Celebrations of the Command and Staff College

QUETTA
September 18, 1980

Introduction

Addressing the Jubilee Celebrations of the Command and Staff College, Quetta, on September 18, 1980, the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, described his presence there as a home-coming and felt happy that those assembled on the occasion belonged to the new crops as well as the old one.

Casting a look at the history and achievement of the college, the President recalled that both the college as well as the All-India Muslim League had been founded almost in the same year. Apparently, there had been no connection between the two events, but, by a strange coincidence of history, one led to the creation of Pakistan and the other was destined to train its defenders.

The President said that the college could be rightly proud of producing and chiselling professional soldiers. But the meaning and significance of "professionalism" underwent a basic change in 1947 when the new State of Pakistan came into being, not in the nature of minior or major staff duties but its orientation and future responsibilities which was to train, prepare and inspire the new generation of army officers who were to guard the frontiers of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Most significantly, quantitative disparity had to be matched by qualitative superiority.

This enormous task, the President said, had not fallen to the lot of Pakistan alone. Throughout Islamic history, Muslim warriors, though outnumbered and out-equipped, won great battles and added glorious chapters to their history and these constitute a prennial source of inspiration and confidence to all Muslims. He also emphasised the need for a serious study of military history, Muslim as well as Western.

The President also stressed upon his audience to always keep in mind the rapid flow of scientific and military knowledge, and was happy to note that the college was alive to the necessity for being progressive and forward-looking and hoped that it would continue to pay increasing attention to keeping the curricula updated.

The President urged the directing staff and the students of the college to continue to acquit themselves with credit just as they and their predecessors had done in the past, and prayed that it would, in its onward march, gather more laurels just as gracefully as it would shower pearls of miltary knowledge and wisdom on those, in the future, who were destined to hold the reins of Pakistan army.

He also urged his audience to exercise greater vigilance and caution more than ever before in view of the geo-political situation around Pakistan which was unfortunately loaded with dangerous portents. He asked them to adhere to the guiding principle of tenacity of a staunch believer, dedication of a true Pakistani and realistic approach of a professional soldier.

Saying that measures were being taken to achieve self-sufficiency in the field of defence, the President pointed out that this was a distant goal with innumerable difficulties.

The President impressed upon his audience that as guardians of national frontiers they should be conscious of their ideal moorings and be imbued with the ethos of Islam and of nationalism and to match their faith with actions so that a Pakistan could be built which was worthy of the ideal for which it was created.

Gen. Sawar Khan, Vice Chief of the Army Staff;

Gen. Shamim, Commandant, Command and Staff College;

General Officers;

Members of the Faculty

Students of the Staff Course;

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

Coming to the Command and Staff College is like home-coming for me. The College has been my home as a student as well as a Directing Staff. In both capacities, my stay here has been productive and satisfying for me. I still cherish the memory of those days. I, therefore, participate in the Jubilee Celebrations more like a host than a guest, and on this auspicious occasion, I offer my felicitations to you all.

Looking at the assemblage this morning, it fills my heart to see the new crop and the old. Amongst the old crop, today, we have amongst us an ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, a product of this college, and a man under whose guidance we fought and, to an extent, won the 1965 war. We have amongst us Corps Commanders of the past, Corps Commanders of the present, Divisional Commanders of the past, and Divisional Commanders of the present. We have amongst us our comrades in white uniform and blue uniform representing the Navy and the Air Force.

On such occasions, it is customary – and quite befittingly – to cast a fresh look at the history and achievements of the college. Gen. Shamim has done it quite comprehensively. I will add only a few foot-notes to his recapitulations.

The college was founded in Quetta in the south-west of this

Sub-continent in 1905. About same time, came into being an organisation known as the All-India Muslim League. Apparently, there was no connection between to two. One was founded in the rugged mountains of Quetta, while the other sprouted in the lush green environments of Dacca. One was purely a professional college, while the other was a thoroughly political organisation. But strange are the coincidences of history. One led to the creation of Pakistan and the other was destined to train its defenders.

This college can be rightly proud of producing and chiselling professional soldiers. That has been the hall-mark of this institution ever since its creation, and it is so even today. I maintain that the future of the army largely depends on the quality of its professionalism. But the meaning and significance of "professionalism", in my opinion underwent a basic change in 1947 when the new State of Pakistan came into being and this college became one of its premier institutions.

The change was not in the nature of minor or major staff duties. The change was in its orientation and future responsibilities. It was to train, prepare and inspire the new generation of army officers who were to guard the frontiers of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The imperatives of new responsibilites were significantly different from those of the pre-independence days. In olden days, the officers came from and returned to a large war machine maintained by a foreign power. Now they belonged to a relatively samll army maintained and financed by a small country with limited resources. It, therefore, became inevitable to re-assess our requirements in relation to our means. One of the stark realities of this re-assessment was that our armed forces, as compared to our adversaries, would always remain smaller in size and, perhaps, inferior in equipment because of resource constraints. This inferiority in material had to be offset by superiority in other spheres – such as a better training and greater dedication. In other words, quantitative disparity had to be matched by qualitative superiority.

This enormous task had not fallen to our lot alone. Look at the Islamic history and the great battles won by Muslim warriors. They

were always outnumbered and out-equipped. Yet they added glorious chapters to Muslim history. Their achievements constitute a perennial source of inspiration and confidence to us all. I must also take this opportunity to emphasise the need for a serious study of military history – Muslim military history as well as Western military history. It will be very beneficial to all professionals.

What I want to emphasise here is the fact that institutions like the Command and Staff College contribute to the quality of professional leadership on whose performance often hinge the outcome of wars. The discipline, the training, the habit pattern, creation of interest in military history, and the attitudes formulated in early career at a staff college, usually turn out life-long companions of an officer. They, infact, prove their best foul-weather friends.

Another aspect we should always keep in mind is the rapid flow of scientific and military knowledge which should not escape our attention. Our military doctrines and concepts would be constantly reviewed and updated to keep them in harmony with these changes. For the teaching to be of value, it has to be progressive and forward-looking. I am glad that the college is alive to this urgent need. I hope it would continue to pay an increasing attention to keeping the curriculum updated and do all it can to furbish the professional and intellectual horizon of the trainees who are to provide future leadership to our army.

As you know, the graduates of this college always go to occupy staff appointments in various Formation Headquarters. Later, they rise to hold key appointments of higher echelons. Thus, the future of our army is inevitably with the product of this institution. Therefore, much of what our army would do and achieve in future would depend largely upon the quality of the education being imparted here in this college.

There is an adequate realisation in General Headquarters about this role of the college.That is why this institution receives direct and immediate attention to its needs. It is indeed for you now to ensure that this wonderful facility for the professional development of officers is fully utilised. Both the Directing Staff and the students

must continue to acquit themselves with credit just as you and your predecessors have done in the past, so that you measure up to the high expectation of the army and the nation. I also pray that the college, in its onward march, gathers more laurels just as gracefully as it would shower pearls of military knowledge and wisdom on those who, in the future, are destined to hold the reins of our army.

Ladies and Gentlemen! If you look ouside the corridors of the college, you find that the atmosphere is not as serene and calm as it obtains on this compus. The geo-political atmosphere around us is unfortunately loaded with dangerous portents. It calls for greater vigilance and caution than ever before. In such a scenario, the Staff College, too, assumes greater responsibility. It is the duty of all of us to make the best use of the time and facilities available to improve our national defence. Our guiding principle is that while discharging our duty we must show the tenacity of a staunch believer, the dedication of a true Pakistani and the realistic approach of a professional soldier. I am confident that the armed forces will measure up to the task whenever they are faced with a challenge to their national independence. It is also imperative that we, as a nation, rise above parochial considerations and promote an atmosphere of national unity.

I am aware of the fact that wars are not won merely on the strength of a fervid impluse and spirit of the people alone. Military hardware is also an essential factor. It is with this end in view that the Government is striving for self-sufficiency in the field of defence as in other spheres of national requirement. No doubt it is a distant goal with innumerable difficulties in the way of its achievement, but if the urge is sincere, the resolve firm and the goal clear, then no impediment can stand in the way of our success. I must add two points here: *first*, the acquisition of military hardware is not directed against any country. It is an imperative of our own defence. *Second*, in doing so we do not want to get involved in any rivalries. We want to stay clear of international whirlpools. We are committed to guard our national integrity at all costs. We have to have necessary implements to fuilfil this national reponsibility. We will continue to improve our defence capability according to our means.

As guardians of our national forntiers, we should be conscious of our ideological moorings. This consciousness is essential for us to perform our sacred role for the protection of our country. As an ideological State and nation we are bound to have our share of difficulties. We can meet these challenges if we are imbued with the ethos and spirit of Islam and of nationalism. All our thoughts and actions must be inspired by our national and religious outlook and unswerving faith in our destiny. We need to match our faith with action. According to a *Hadith* of the Prophet, "Allah does not accept belief if it is not expressed in deeds and does not accept deeds if those do not conform to belief".

In the end, I would like to reiterate that we owe it to ourselves and to our country that we act wisely and with dedication to build Pakistan worthy of the ideals for which it was created. It was created by the effort and the sacrifices of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Since its creation, it has been sustained by the dedication of both the Muslim and non-Muslim Pakistanis. In the three wars that we have fought for our existence so far, Muslims and non-Muslioms have shed their blood with equal fervour. In the Pakistan Army, we recognise neither the creed nor the colour – we favour merit; and in this spirit we as Pakistanis must continue to strive hard to achieve the ultimate spirit of true nationalism. I have no doubt that whatever part this premier institution would play in the achievment of this goal would receive appropriate recognition from the nation.

I, once again, offer my felicatations on the 75-years Jubilee Celebrations, and pray to Almighty Allah that the college may move to the centenary celebrations with greater dedication and prouder laurels. I wish you God-speed.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Address at the 35th Session of U.N. General Assembly as Chairman of the Islamic Conference

NEW YORK
October 1, 1980

Introduction

On October 1, 1980, the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, addressed the 35th session of the U.N. General Assembly in his capacity as President of the Islamic Conference which represents 900 million Muslims the world over.

He pointed to delegates from all over the world the real significance of the Islamic Hijra Calender and brought home to them that the founding of the first Islamic State in Madina, consequent upon the departure of the Holy Prophet of Islam from Makkah, brought about, on the one hand, the rejection of the suffocating environment of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, oppression and moral turpitude, and, on the other, the determination of the new-born Islamic community to promote understanding, tolerance, brotherhood, and freedom as imperatives of State policy.

After thanking the Assembly President and the Secretary-General, the President told the delegates about the Islamic injunction of rising above race, colour and creed and to percieve humanbeings in terms of universal brotherhood.

He told them that Islam, by its very definition, was a religion of peace and submission to the Divine Will and demanded of its followers to strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of

a human society based on justice and equality.

He spoke to them of the Islamic virtues of tolerance and compassion which brought about a synthesis of civilisations and a balanced intermingling of diverse faiths and beliefs, and pointed out that the inter-communal peace and harmony, prevaling during the period of more them a thousand years of Islamic ascendancy, stood in sharp contrast with the present-day recial arrogance, discrimination and persecution practised in parts of the globe.

He informed them about the Islamic concept of Jihad and emphasised that Islam specifically forbade wars of aggression and permitted recourse to arms only in seld-defence. He pointed out that the Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity was of eternal value, specially in the present times when man has stepped into an age in which humanity has at its disposal the means of destroying itself several times over.

He also pointed out the confrontation today between man's selfishness and nature, and suggested that the ecological crisis faced by our planet could be met if man would understand the Quranic injunction that this world was not his personal property but a trust from the Almighty Who created it.

He also told the delegates, and qouted the Holy Quran and the Prophet of Islam in this connection, that Muslims were enjoined to accept the missions of all the Prophets who preceded Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him).

Speaking of the great Islamic community which today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the east to Sengegal in the west, he said that even while living in differenct climes under different customs and political systems and speaking different languages, Muslims all over the world retained an abiding sense of Islamic affinity which was the hallmark of the Commonwealth of Muslim Nâtions.

He also recalled that human progress was heavily indebted to early Muslim scholars, philosophers, scientists and physicians who

extended the frontiers of knowledge and enriched humanbeings, as exhorted by the Prophet of Islam.

The President expressed profound anguish of the world of Islam at the violent conflicts between the two brotherly Islamic States of Iraq and Iran and fervently hoped that peace between these two neighbouring countries would soon return.

He also spoke of the threat posed to the world by the Palestinian problem and urged its early solution according to numerous resolutionas passed by the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council.

He also talked of the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan and with which the world, in particular the Islamic world, was profoundly concerned, and urged the U.N.General Assembly to address itself to the task of promoting a political solution of the crisis in accordance with the principles adumbrated by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers.

The President held that there could be no genuine international security so long as it predicated on an unstable balance of terror and a continuous escalation of the arms race. He, however, declared that a detente in order to be acceptable to the Islamic world should not be based on a division of the world into spheres of influence by the two Super Powers.

He condemned the policies of racial discrimination, apartheid and minority rule being followed by South Africa as being repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality, and felt convinced that nemesis would overtake whosever practiced racism and apartheid or discriminated between one humanbeing and another on the grounds of colour.

He also spoke of the discrimination against the Muslim minorities in various countries, numbering nearly 300 million, because of religious prejudice, and declared that this was a challenge to world conscience and must be met fairly and firmly.

The President ended his adress by expressing the Muslim world's ardent belief that the era of stark materialism, which bred imprerialism, colonialism and injustice in all its forms, was finally over and the advent of the new Islamic century would mark the beginning of a new epoch when high ideals of peace, justice, equality of man, and a unique understanding of the universe, would once again enable Muslims to make a worthy contribution to the betterment of mankind.

(In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful)

(Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds and blessing and peace be upon the seal (i.e, the last) of the Prophets.)

Mr. President!

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

Today the World of Islam is on the threshold of the 15th century of its glorious and eventful history. Another 40 days will usher in the beginning of a new islamic century. The Muslims all over the world will be celebrating the fourteen hundredth anniversary of a unique event, which was chosen by the Second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Ibn al-Khattab, (may God be pleased with him) as the beginning of the Islamic Hijra calendar.

The Hijra calendar commemorates neither the Prophet's birthday, nor the time when the message of God was first revealed to him. It commemorates an event which was to become a turning-point in the evolution of Islam. That event was the Hijra, or the great departure of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) with a small group of devoted followers from his place of birth Makkah for, the city over four hundred kilometres away, the city of Madina. The departure to Madina was chosen as the starting point of the Islamic calendar, because it marked the founding of the Islamic polity.

While in Makkah, Islam emerged as a moral force, it was Madina which had the honour of being the cradle of the first Islamic State under the guidance of the Prophet himself. This State was founded

on the basis of the universally applicable moral principles revealed in the Quran. This first Islamic polity symbolised the happy blending of the citizens of Madina called Ansars or the Helpers, and the Muhajireen, or the Refugees, from Makkah. A union of great importance had thus emerged. Together, the two communities formed the nucleus of the Islamic Ummah, or the great brotherhood of Islam. The idea embodied in this concept served as a beacon for the humanity at large.

Leaving his place of birth, the home of his ancestore, and his kith and kin to whom he was deeply attached, was, undoubtedly, a great ordeal for the Prophet. With his reputation for unimpeachable integrity he was called by everyone alike as "Al-Amin", the trustworthy. His gentle disposition and nobility of character endeared him to one and all. He could have stayed on in Makkah as a highly repectable member of the leading Hashemite clan to which he belonged, if only he would stop preaching what God had commanded him to preach. His refusal to do so turned the hostility of the people of Makkah into unbridled fury.

Thus, the founding of the first Islamic State in Madina represented, on the one hand, the rejection of the suffocating environment of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, oppressiion and moral turpitude, and, on the other hand, the determination of the new-born Islamic community to promote understanding, tolerance, brotherhood, and freedom as imperatives of State policy. From now on, the world was to witness, emanating in succession from Madina, developments of monumental significance in the history of mankind.

Mr President!

It is a great honour for me and my country that I have been given the opportunity to address the Thirty-fith Session of the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of 900 million fellow-Muslims in commermoration of such an epoch-making event in human history. I do so with deep humility in response to the mandate conferred upon me by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which Pakistan was privileged to host last May.

I am grateful to you, Mr President, for your kind words of welcome, and take this opportunity to convey to you my personal congratulations, and those of the government and people of Pakistan, on your election as President of the Thirty-fifth Session of the General Assembly.

To you, Mr. Secretary General, I wish to express our profound admiration for the qualities and experiences which you possess in such abundant measure. During your two terms of office, you have been called upon to deal with some of the most difficult problems which the world organisation has had to face. You have done so with great distinction, and we wish you continued success in the future.

Speaking as an humble believer, I am particularly consicious of the Islamic injunction to rise above race, colour and creed and to perceive fellow humanbeings in terms of universal brotherhood. Islam, by its very definition, is a religion of peace and submission to the Divine Will. It demands of its followers to strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of a human society based on justice and equality.

It is most appropriate for me on such an occasion, and before such a distingushed audience representing the entire world community, to speak of the Islamic virtues of tolerance and compassion, which brought about a synthesis of civilisations and a balanced interming of peoples of diverse faiths and beliefs. Islam rejects narrow nationalism, parochialism, and racial elitism. The inter-communal peace and harmony, prevailing during the period of more than a thousand years of Islamic ascendancy, stands in sharp contrast with the present-day racial arrogance, discrimination and persecution which are practised in certain parts of the globe today.

The true foundation of the peace and tranquility, which characterised the prime period of Islamic ascendacy, lies in the great Islamic virtues, symbolised in particular by the concept of universal brotherhood, tolerance, and repect for the sanctity of life. The Holy Quran says:

"He who slays one humanbeings, it is as if he had slain

all mankind; he who saves one humanbeing, it is as if he had saved all mankind."(5:35)

Islam specifically forbids wars of aggression, and permits recourse to arms only in self-defence. The Holy Quran says:

> "Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you; but you do not begin the hostilities; for Allah does not love aggression,"(2:186)

The Islamic concept of *Jihad* epitomizes the precepts so explicity enunciated in these verses from the Holy Quran. There is, indeed, an element of struggle in *Jihad;* a continous struggle, constant striving, to lead life, in its totality, in the light of the message of the Holy Quran, and in the tradition of the Prophet of Islam.

The Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity is of eternal value, and is more than ever relevant to the conditions prevailing in today's world. Eversince the birth of this world, man has had his share of conflicts and difficulties. The confrontation of civilisations and faiths in the past did not lead to annihilation of the human race because, merecifully, the means of mass destruction were limited. Today, we have stepped into an age wherein humanity has, at its disposal, the means of destroying itself several times over. The world can no longer afford the luxury of confrontation and wars. Mankind needs peace. Let us all try to achieve peace within and peace without.

There is yet another form of confrontation besides the nuclear arms race that threatens human survival. It is the cofrontation between man's selfishnes and nature. His insatiable pursuit of material comforts has led him to reckless destruction of the natural environment. The ecological crisis faced by our planet today, particularly by the highly industrialised nations, has reached such alarming proportions that the questions must be asked: Has not man burnt his fingers in the fire which he himself kindled? Has he not lost his sense of proportion in his earthly scheme of priorities? Does he not understand that this world is not his personal property, but a trust from the Almighty Who created it? As the Holy Quran says:

> "In the alternation of day and night, in the rains from heaven that come to quicken the parched earth, in the shifting winds, and in the clouds pressed into service between heaven and earth, there are signs enough of Allah's rule for people who have understanding."(2:159)

It is this understanding that can help the present-day world to regain the equilibrium it seems to have lost.

The followers of Islam believe that their faith represents that ultimate perfection of the Divine Message which has flowed to mankind through a succession of Prophets. Muslims are enjoined to accept the missions of all the Prophets who preceded Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him). In the Holy Quran, it is stated.

> "Those who believe (what Mohammad revealed), and those who are Jews, Christians, Sabenas or whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Judgement, they shall have their reward."(2:59)

The Prophet of Islam himself said:

> "I believe in the one Allah, in His revealed Books, in His message-bearing Prophets, in the Hereafter."

It is noteworthy that the Prophet spoke of "the revealed Books", and not merely of the Book. Similarly, he spoke of God's "message-bearing Prophets", and not merely of one Prophet, that would be himself. We Muslims are bound by our Faith to believe in all the Prophets and the revealed Books from Adam to Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) who is the last of the Prophets.

The great Islamic community today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Living in different climes, and under different customs and political systems, speaking different languages and dialects, Muslims all over the world retain an abiding sense of Islamic affinity. It is this unity in diversity which is the hallmark of the Muslim Ummah, or the Commonwealth of Muslim Nations. The Islamic Conference, of which

I have the honour of being the corfest Chairman, constitutes concreate manifestation of a urge of the Muslim Ummah to re-establish its historic role as a factor for peace and progress, and to re-assert the over-riding unity of the Muslim peoples scattered over the globe.

As we stand at the threshold of the 15th Century of Hijra, we can look with pride to the fact that the Islamic countries have regained their political independence, and are working closely to obtain their righful place in the world. Their desire for unity is manifested in the 42-member Islamic Conference, which has come to acquire an eminent place among international organisations, and whose decisions are assuming ever-increasing importance in the international community.

The spread of Islam led to a creative encounter between the first Islamic people of Arabia and the major cultures of Persia, Greece, Egypt and India, resulting in an unprecedented flowering of the human genius. This great epoch of creative activity that began in the second century Hijra lasted several hundred years. Both in the heartland of Islam, represented by the great traditions of the Caliphs, and in the no less glorious Islamic cultures, which developed in far off places such as Spain, India, Central Asia, Asia Minor, Africa and South East Asia, the triumphant spirit of man, emancipated and enriched by Islam, manifested itself in remarkable advances in arts and sciences. This was the era in which were laid the foundations of modern learning and knowledge.

It gives me pleasure to recall that human progress is heavily indebted to the early Muslim scholars, philosophers, scientists, and physicians, who made outstanding original contributions in their repective fields and disciplines, rescued the best in the ancient Greco-Roman civilisation, and passed this treasure on to the West. Who can forget immortals like Averroes, Ibne Sina, Ibne Haitham, Ibne Khaldun, Alberuni and the great Omar Khayyam?

These are but a few of the galaxy of illustrious Muslims who extended the frontiers of knowledge, and enriched human experience. It was their enlightened approach to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge that made this progress possible. They

sought and acquired knowledge from whatever source it was available from the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese, the Persians, the Hindus, the Buddhists, and the rest. The Prophet had urged them to do so. Permit me to read four out of many quotations from the teachings of the Prophet:–

> One. "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave."
>
> Two."Whoever seeks knowledge and finds it will get two rewards: one for seeking, and the other for finding. If he does not find it, he still has one reward."
>
> Three. "The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr."
>
> Four."It is better to impart knowledge for one hour than to pray all night."

The emphasis in these quotations is not only on seeking knowledge, but also on sharing it with others for the progress of mankind as a whole. There is a lesson in this for the present-day world where access to vitally useful knowledge, indispensible for human progress and prosperity, is allowed on a selective basis, and is, indeed, being denied by the privileged few to the less fortunate many who need it most.

The Islamic world was instrumental not only in generating the first intellectual stirrings which prepared the ground for the European Renaissance, but also in acting as a bulwark for the defence of Western civilisation against the Mongol hordes that descended like an elemental force of nature. But for the Islamic world, which bore the brunt of the Mongol onslaught, Europe would have been overwhelmed in the seventh century Hijra, that is, the thriteenth century A.D. It is, indeed, a tragic irony of fate that those very people who were thus saved by the Muslims, turned round to occupy and pillage Muslim lands, and convert them into their prize colonies.

While this unhappy period in Islamic history is undoubtedly behind us, its evil consquences remain to be eradicated. Political

independence regained by Muslim countries has not loosened the tenacious grip of economic exploitation, which goes hand in hand with colonialism. Continued dependence on the industrially developed world has aggravated their plight. Their crucial strategic location has generated intolerable pressures from powers seeking hegemony and coveting their vital natural resources.

The feeling of insecurity across much of the globe today is attributable to the continuing tendency to use force and pressure for the control and exploitation of scarce resources. The distress caused by this phenomenon is writ large on the faces of both the exploited and the exploiter. What will this lead us to? The Holy Quran warns mankind against it thus:

> "To him who is convetous and bent on riches.....to him will the path of distress be made easy."(92: 8–10)

Mr President!

While on the subject of conflicts generated by avarice and greed, I may be allowed to present before this august Assembly how we Muslims perceive some of the critical areas of tension on the world map.

The tragic conflict between the two Islamic States of Iran and Iraq is a source of deep concern to the world community. It causes profound anguish to the world of Islam in particular. This violent conflict between two brotherly Islamic States is attributable to the unstable conditions created in a sensitive area by the pressures and counter-pressures of super power rivalry. We fervently hope that peace between these two neighbouring countries will return soon, Insha Allah. It is the duty of the international community and in particular that of the Islamic and non-aligned worlds to make a positive contribution towards the resolution of the differences between Iran and Iraq. An essential condition for the return of peace between them would be the observance of strict neutrality and non-interference in their internal affairs by the outside powers.

Mr President!

As you are aware, Sir, I have come to New York directly from the capitals of these two countries where I was warmly received in a spirit of Islamic fraternity by President Bani Sadr and President Saddam Hussain. My mission was undertaken at the behest of the Islamic Conference. Its purpose was essentially one of fact-finding and goodwill. I was able to ascertain the views of my two brothers in a series of meetings in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. I have faithfully conveyed to each brother the views and position of the other in regard to a cessation of hostilities. It is my earnest hope and prayer that efforts will continue to end the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq and that a peaceful solution will be found to their differences on the basis of justice and respect for each other's rights and in a spirit of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood.

By far the most destabilising factor in the Middle East is Israel. Who can deny the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people who have been mercilessly uprooted from their sacred land after being in continuous possession for the best part of 1400 years, and who have been suffering untold oppression, tyranny and terrorism practised against them by the Zionist entity?

The threat posed to world peace by the Palestinian problem is all too evident. The situation can explode at any moment. The resulting conflagration could envelop the world with a disaster the magnitude of which has not been seen before. Injustice and oppression rouse strong sentiments; these sentiments cannot be suppressed by arrogant reliance on force and coercion, nor smothered by unremitting persecution. Israel, which is so ready to invoke the past, should not forget the oft-repeated lesson of history that its policy of annexation and domination is doomed to failure. History has the habit of unceremoniously repeating itself.

Notwithstanding protestations of the desire to bring about a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem in the context of the Middle East situation, the stark reality is that Israel continues to defy the will of the world community, experessed through this very forum and the Security Council on numerous occasions. It continues

to occupy Arab and Palestinian land by force. It cynically disregards the near-unanimous world edict on Jerusalem by passing a law to change the status of Al-Quds-al-Sharif. The Security Council reacted by calling upon all countries having their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to shift them. The response was unanımous and prompt.

I take this opportunity to offer profound thanks to all the thirteen countries, namely, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, which have removed their diplomatic missions from Jerusalem to show their displeasure at Israel's defiance of international law and public opinion. We salute them for their principled decision. Is it not time for further action by the world community so that the conditions stipulated generally by the world opinion, and specially by the Islamic Conference, on the Palestinian problem, are met, and peace returns to the Middle East? Let there be no illusion that wounds inflicted on the Palestinians can be healed by the passage of time. Now is the time to act, before it is too late.

The United States claims that it has vital economic and strategic interests in the Middle East and North Africa, which is not only the homeland of the Arab people but constitutes the strategic frontiers of Europe. Yet, it pusues a policy which brings it into hostile confrontation with the Arab world, and extends open-ended support to Israel, which encourages that country to pursue aggressive policies in defiance of world opinion. The United States bears a heavy responsibility in this respect, since reliance on the might of this super power enables Israel to flout the verdict of the international community, and to usurp the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

The Muslim World whole-heartedly supports the just struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of their legitimate and sole representative, the Palestine Librationb Organization, for the liberation of their sacred territory from Zionist rule and occupation. It considers that the issue of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East question. Successive Islamic Conferences have demanded:

(a) The complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem;

(b) The exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a soveriegn State of their own in their homeland under the leadership of Palestine Libration Organization; and

(c) The dismantling of all the so-called "settlements" in occupied Arab territories.

Unitl these just demands are met in full, the prospect of a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East will elude us, and the world will continue to be haunted by the spectre of a wider conflict in which the interests of those who protect Israel will suffer most.

Mr President!

The World of Islam is profoundly concerned with the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan. This small, independent, non-aligned Muslim country has been subjected to military intervention on a massive scale, in violation of the national rights of the Afghan people and the sacrosanct principles of non-alignment and the United Nations Charter. True to their centuries-old national tradition, and unconquerable spirit of independence, the people of Afghanistan have responded to the challenge with fearless resistence through the length and breadth of their country. Their struggle is as sacrosanct, and worthy of respect and support, as the heroic struggles of the Algerian people, the people of Zimbabwe and, indeed, of all the oppressed and exploited people of the world, at one time or anther aganist foreign domination.

The deeply-felt resentment of the international community, and of the Muslim world in particular, against this act of aggression has been clearly expressed in the demand for the immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which met in Islamabad in May last, set in motion a process of resolving

the Afghan crisis through peaceful negotiations. It adopted a Resolution, establishing a Standing Committee comprising Foreign Ministers of Iran and Pakistan and the Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, with a view to holding consultations with all parties to bring about a solution based on the following principles:

(a) The immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan;

(b) The restoration of the independence and nonaligned status of Afghanistan;

(c) Respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny, and to choose their own form of government in accordance with their on wishes, free from external interference; and

(d) The creation of conditions which would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

It is matter of deep regret that this valuable initiative of the Islamic Conference has been presently stalled by the overall negative attitude of the Kabul regime. I am confident that this august Assembly will address itself to the urgent task of promoting a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan in accordance with these principles.

In the meantime, more than a milliion Afghan refugees have crossed the 1400-mile border into Pakistan, while others have taken shelter in Iran. Entire communities of men, women and children, uprooted from their hearths and homes by the violence of the conflict, have continued to pour into Pakistan. My country is providing them with shelter in a humanitarian spirit, and in conformity with the tradition of Islamic brotherhood. It is a task of awesome magnitude in view of Pakistan's limited resources. We are grateful for the assistance, received for this purpose, from brotherly Muslim countries, and other friendly nations, the UN High Commission for Refugees,

and various international agencies and humanitarian organisations, including Hilal-i-Ahmar, Red Cresent and Red Cross Societies.

Mr President!

People do not leave the comforts of their hearths and homes to face the privations of life in exile without compelling reasons. The Afghan refugees on our soil have had to leave their country because life was made unbearable for them. The orchestrated propaganda campaign accusing Pakistan of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs cannot mislead the world. It cannot conceal the truth that the insurgency in Afghanistan is a manifestation of the patriotic upsurge of a proud people who have never yielded to foreign domination. I wish to restate Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States, and categorically reject the allegation that Pakistan is in any way involved in the insurgency in Afghanistan.

Mr President!

It is interesting to note that this insurgency is mainly in the interior of Afghanistan, where brave men and women, brave boys and girls, brave peasants and workers are fighting to free themselves from the forcible occupation of their territory by foreign troops. What is surprising is the attitude of big powers; one has accused the other of an effort to strangulate it. Surely the answer to the presence of troops of one country in an island of Indian Ocean cannot be accepted as an excuse by another to send troops into another independent country.

A situation similar to that in Afghanistan exists in Kampuchea. Here, again, a regime has been imposed on that country by the foreign occupation forces, leading to a mass exodus of the Kampuchean people, who have endured great suffering and privation. In both cases, principles of international law and peaceful co-existence have been violated.

Mr President!

The world of Islam does not believe that there can be genuine international security so long as it is predicated on an unstable balance of terror, and a continuous escalation of the arms race. We have welcomed measures in the past aimed at relaxing tensions between the two super powers, and whole-heartedly support their efforts to limit and control strategic nuclear weapons. Muslim countries favour a genuine detente, but not a detente based on a division of the world into spheres of influence by the two super powers, because such an arrangement would be at the expense of the Islamic and non-aligned world. We cannot subscribe to a detente which is designed to keep certain areas of the globe tension-free, while exposing others to subversion and aggression in any shape or form. We want peace. We want peace with digniy. We want peace with respect. We want peace with honour. We firmly believe that peace is indivisible, and must encompass all parts of the globe. It cannot be selective in its scope or application.

The world of Islam has invariably been at the forefront in espousing the right of peoples to self-determination and independence as a matter of principle. The attainment of independence by nearly 100 countries, since the Second World War, is a matter of profound satisfaction to all of us. The success of the valiant struggle waged by the African peoples is a glorious chapter in the annals of freedom. We pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of the great liberation movements, and particularly to the memory of those martyrs whose supreme sacrifice has made this historic achievement possible.

The presence of Zimabawe among us, today, as a full-fledged member of the United Nations, symbolises the heroic achievements of the continent of Africa, and offers fresh hope to the people of Namibia and South Africa, where the tentacles of colonialism and racist minority-rule maintain an iron hold today. Our prayers, and whatever moral and material support is required of us, will always be with the freedom fighter of Africa. Their problems are our problems. Their difficulties are our difficulties. Their struggle is our struggle. The clock is in their favour. They shall succeed because their cause is just.

Mr President!

The tide of independence cannot be reversed any more than one can successfully bid a yesterday to return. Indeed, all efforts to keep people under some one's subjugation, or to turn countries into colonies such is theverdict of modern history are foredoomed to failure.

Policies of racial discrimination, apartheid, and minority rule being followed by South Africa are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality. We are convinced that nemesis will overtake whosoever practises recism and apartheid, or discriminates between one humanbeing and another on the grounds of colour.

The Pretoria regime must be made to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its repressive policies and acts of violence in that teritory and in South Africa. The Namibian people must be allowed to decide their future destiny through impartial elections under United Nations auspices. However great the difficulties may apear, we are confident of the ultimate triump of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

There is another form of discrimination, which is a matter of deep concern today to the world of Islam. The Muslim minorities, in various countries around the globe, number nearly 300 million. They are frequently discriminated against and subjected to untold miseries because of religious prejudice. Their lives and properties are not always safe. In some countries, they are being systematically reduced to the status of serfs; in others, they are being forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and driven to inhospitable regions. The very custodians of law and order have become, for them, instruments of acts of oppression and extermination. This is a challenge to the world conscience, and must be met firmly and fairly. It is a challenge to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that everyone has the right to freedom of conscience and religion. How can the world conscience close its eyes to the fate of millions of humanbeings who are undergoing acute sufferings merely because they profess a particular faith? True to the injunctions of Islam, our hearts go out not only to the Muslim minorities who are subjected to discrimination and oppression, but to all minority com-

munities, regardless of their creed, colour or caste, who are made to suffer a similar fate.

To express humanitarian concern over the plight of these minorities is not to interfere in the internal affairs of any State. The world community must not lose its capacity for moral anger which, in many cases, is perhaps the only instrument it has to exert pressure on the oppressor today.

The future of mankind will, indeed, be bleak if we allow our sensitivities to human suffering to be dulled, or our conscience to be stifled, at the sight of poverty and hunger. The Holy Prophet said:

> "He is not a perfect Muslim who eats his fill, and lets his neighbour go hungry,"
>
> "He who helps his fellowmen in the hour of need, him will Allah help on the Day of Judgement."

This is as much true of individuals as of nations.

Mr President!

We, the peoples of the Islamic world, alongwith our brethren of the Third World, have suffered together the trauma of colonial domination; we have struggled, side by side, to attain our freedom; we have gone through the same pangs of re-birth after independence; we have inherited similar problems; we are facing similar challenges; we share the same disappointment in the non-realisation of the rising hopes and expectations of our peoples.

The basis of the existing economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries is the principle or the lack of principle in this case of justice and fairplay. The developing nations supply the raw materials, but the developed nations demand unjustly prices of industrial goods they provide. We, of the Third World are at the mercy of the international market, which is manipulated by a handful of industrialised countries. It is in the interest of the developed countries to realise that the advantages of such basically

unsound tactics are short-lived. We have entered an era of interdependence, and no single country can ensure its prosperity by adopting measures which frustrate the legitimate aspirations of other countries and other peoples. Exploitative and discriminatory practices against the developing countries are the root cause of economic and political instability, which poses a great danger to world peace and security. The time has surely come, if it is not late already, to establish a new economic order which would be durable because it would be fair.

The Group of 77, representing the Third World, has been pressing its demand, since 1964, for an international economic order that would ensure optimum growth of world economy for the benefit of all countries and all peoples. The North-South dialogue has gragged on as a futile exercise for nearly a decade, In the meantime, the problems of poverty and deprivation of more than half the world have become further aggravated, posing ever greater dangers to world stability.

Meanwhile, the Islamic world has made a start with concerted measures to pool its resources, and has established financial and banking institutions of its own for the purpose. In the fullness of time, these institutions should enable the Muslims to achieve a substantial measure of economic self-reliance. In the true Islamic tradition, the oil-producing Muslim countries have shown a helpful attitude for alleviating the hardships of not only fellow Muslim States but also fellow-members of the Third World. At the same time, the Muslim countries will continue to exert themselves to the unmost, towards the achievement of the objectives of the Group of 77. Their voice will also be clearly heard in the North-South dialogue, urging affluent nations to raise their official development assistance to the Third World at least to the agreed-level of 0.7 per cent of their GNP. Can magnanimity be at such a low premium?

While so little is being contributed towards the elimination of the problems of poverty and backwarness, on which the future stability of the world depends, the commitment of vast resources to the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction continues to increase. A further tragedy is that large-scale transfers of arms and lethal

weapons are taking place to countries which are already expending so much of their precious resources on armaments at the expense of the welfare of their masses. World security is as much threatened by the reckless diversion of resources towards the arms race as by the neglect of the fundamental needs of the under-privileged peoples of the world. Indeed, the two are inextricably linked. Consequently, the question of disarmament is vitally relevant not only to the reduction of international tensions, but also to the better utilisation of resources for human development and progress. The goal of disarmament deserves the urgent attention of the world community and needs to be pursued both at the global and the regional levels.

Mr President!

The United Nations remains the embodiment of our hopes and aspirations for a world order based on peace and justice. It is committed to the achievement of this objective by virtue of the ideals enshrined in its Charter. This Organisation has been a force for international peace and progress during its 35 years of existence. We do not feel discouraged by its occasional inability to translate its promises into tangible results. We are conscious of the circumstances which have prevented if from enforcing its decisions in respect of the right of the people of Palestine to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland, or redeeming its promise to the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to enable them to decide their future in accordance with its relevant resolutions.

Since the reference to the State of Jammu And Kashmir touches upon Pakistan's relationship with India, I would like to say that in conformity with our established policy we have continued our efforts for further normalisation of relations with India on the basis of the principles of the Simla Agreement of 1972. Substantial progress has been made over the yars in the promotion of communications, travel and trade between the two countries. This process, however, can and will be further accelerated with a peaceful settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's position on this matter is founded on universally-recognised principles.

The Islamic world holds the U.N.O. in great esteem, and will

strive to further its fundamental objectives. The message of Islam the message of peace, equality of man, rule of law and supremacy of justice is also fundamental to the United Nations. As devotees of the religion that brought this message to the world, and as signatories to the Chartr in which it is enshrined, the Muslim countries are thus doubly committed to the ideals of the United Nations.

> The Prophet of Islam said:
>
> "Even he who makes progress daily is still far off from the ideal."

We, therefore, do not despair if the ideals of the United Nations are still nowhere near achievement; if aaggression and adventurism still disfigure the internaional scene; if the security and sovereignty of the weak are still being threatened by the strong; if might is still paraded as right. But we live in hope, and would continue to strive to come closer to the ideal with the passing of every day.

It is with this belief and determination that the Islamic world is poised to enter the 15th Century Hijra inspired by its great past; aware of its present problems and opportunities; conscious of its spiritual, cultural, and political rebirth, and its growing strength; and confident of its future. Its chief source of strength, today, is its urge for unity of thought and action. Its member States over 40 in number are generally in agreement on the need for a united and collective response to issues affecting them and the world at large. This has led to the emergence of the concept of strengthening their security by pooling their natural resources, their abundant man-power, and their available skills. The close collaboration so achieved, will undoubtely promote self-reliance, and reduce dependence on the uncertain—and often uncomfortable—external foctors. This concept of security of the Islamic countries does not involve alignment with any of the power groups; nor does it envisage multilateral defence pacts. It aims essentially at advancing the individual and collective capability of the Islamic countries to achieve the goals set by consensus in the larger interest of the Muslim Ummah.

Mr President!

In the world today, there is enough reason for mankind to see the future darkly, and to lose its bearing in the pervading atmosphere of gloom. People feel embattled and forlorn, and see perils and pitfalls all around them. There is social injustice within communities, and economic inequality among nations. All this, I venture to suggest, is a result of unbridled materialism, the eclipse of spiritual values, and a loss of faith.

Our redemption lies in a renewal of Faith; a revival of the belief in the Creator and His creation. I speak only as a Muslim, acutely conscious that arrogance of belief is forbidden to the Muslims: Islam reproaches its followers for any conceit about their Faith. So, in all humility, I state that we perceive the role of Islam as that of helping to overcome the problems besetting the present-day world. It can assist in building an enduring structure for international amity, based on universal brotherhood, and on respect for the principles of peaceful co-existence. Islam is not a religion in the conventional sense but a many- splendoured mansion–it is a unique and comprehensive system of law; it is a distinctive culture, a fascinating civilisation; it is a supreme metaphysical doctrine for the relief and redemption of man. Fourteen hundred years of its record of service is there for all of us to see.

The credentials of the Muslims to be able to play a role in helping to promote peace and harmony among nations provided in the statement of Human Rights and Duties by the Prophet in his last sermon on the Mouat Arafat, which is as fresh and relevant today as it was fourteen hundred years ago. On this occasion, the Prophet said:

"Hearken to my words. O men..............

> The Arab is not superior to non-Arab; the non-Arab is not superior to Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made up of dust.........
>
> The vengeance of blood practised in the days of ignorance is prohibited, and blood-fueds are abolished.

> Verily, you should consider each other's blood, property, and reputation, inviolable until the Day of Judgement.
>
> Remember Allah (in your dealings with) women. You have rights over them—they have rights over you........
>
> Verily a man is responsible only for his own acts. A son is not responsible for the crimes of his father, nor a father responsible for the crimes of his sons. He who has a pledge, let him return it to him who entrusted him with it: usury is ablished, but can you have your capital; wrong not, and you shall not be wronged.
>
> You are one brotherhood; nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of goodwill. Guard yourself from committing injustice.
>
> You will surely meet your Lord, and he will ask you about your deeds.

If this be the message, then should not the present resurgence of Islam and the re-awakening among he Muslims of the world be a welcome phenomenon? It should be welcomed as a revitalising force that could bring peace to a weary world, and hope to a distraught humanity. It is not a religion that forces itself on others. The Holy Quran explicitly reminds us:

"There is no complusion in religion."(2:257)

Thus, without obtruding and in its own imperceptible ways Islam can act as a catalyst in rousing the conscience of the international community. The religion of Islam is primarily concerned with the guidance it furnishes to its votaries how best to live this life. The prayer of the believer is:

> "Our Lord enable us to live this life in a handsome way and also grant life in the Hereafter...........

This life is a preparation for the life to come; it has to be lived fully, earnestly and resolutely. It has to belived for God, spent in His holy name, in obedience to His law.

Mr President!

The world of Islam is confident that the era of stark materialism. which bred imperialism, colonialism and injustice in all its forms, is finally over, and cannot be brought back. As they enter the 15th Century Hijra, the Islamic peoples, who have rediscovered their pride in their religion, their great culture and their unique social and economic institutions, are confident that the advent of this century would mark the beginning of a new epoch, when their high ideals of peace, justice, equality of man, and their unique understanding of the universe, would once again enable them to make a worthy contribution to the betterment of mankind.

Before concluding, I should like to express a fervent hope and prayer on behalf of the Muslims of the world that the 154 nations, gathered here, make a solemn commitment:

(a) That the 15th Century Hijra, and the 21st Century AD, will usher in an era in which relations between States will be governed by higher moral principles, and not by power;

(b) That we shall create a human society founded on the principles of universal brotherhood;

(c) That all forms of intolerance and discrimination, based on considerations of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be ended;

(d) That the remaining strongholds of oppression and injustice on earth shall be demolished;

(e) That the strong nations shall not oppress the weak, nor the rich dominate the poor;

(f) That scientific knowledge and natural resources of the

earth shall be shared equitably for the common welfare and good of the human race, instead of being squandered on armaments and other preparations for war;

(g) That the environment of our planet shall be protected from abuse, to safeguard for posterity its rights to inherit the earth as beautiful and supportive of life as the Creator made it for us;

(h) That, above all, peace shall prevail among nations, and brotherhood among men, to enable humanity to preserve our precious civilisation to which each generation has made its contribution, and to achieve the quality of life, based on political, economic and social justice, to which we all aspire, but which has so far eluded our grasp.

I, once again, thank you, Mr President, for the privilege of addressing this august Assembly.

(And peace be on you and Allah's Mercy and His Blessings.)

Address to Members of Pak-American Economic Council During a Visit

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
October 5, 1980

Introduction

Impressed by visible signs of deep friendship and affection in his audience the President of Pakistan, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, thought it best to deviate from his written speech, and told the 'friends of Pakistan', as he called members of the Pakistan-Americans Economic Council, that Pakistanis were an honourable people who were willing to be partners of U.S.A, the biggest democracy in the world.

Pleading for greater trade between Pakistan and U.S.A, the President pointed out that although America produced most of the cash crops, like rice and cotton, which Pakistan also had, but there were certain things which America, comparatively speaking, did not have.

For example, the surgical instruments made in Sialkot in Pakistan were the best in the world and could be profitably imported into U.S.A. Another thing which Pakistan made was leather goods, specially shoes. Only if Pakistan had a little more of leather technology it could supply shoes to U.S. businessmen who could, then, sell them in their home-market at considerable profit to themselves.

Talking about Pakistani fobrics and the qoutas that had been laid on it by U S.A, the President pointerd out that Pakistan did not put any restrictions on imports of referigerators or electric iron made

in U.S.A. Pakistani fabrics, he went on, were comparable to the best American fabrics and, as such, its import quota should be enhanced and American businessmen should consider buying more of it from Pakistan.

He told the 'friends of Pakistan' that his country believed in free enterprise and encouraged private business and, so, business magnets in U.S.A, should give Pakistan a try.

Friends of Pakistan!

Having seen so many keen and friendly faces I thought I should addrees the audience as friends of Pakistan. I see reflected in your eyes feelings of such deep friendship and affection that I have decided to deviate from, and completely ignore, my written speech. If you have a copy of it, please read it at home.

If I say, or if you have heard, that Pakistan's economy has picked up, it would be quite natural for you to say to yourselves: so what? If you have heard that Pakistan has increased its exports, you would still be telling yourselves: so what? If agriculture in Pakistan has improved, you would have said, good luck to Pakistan, because, after all, it must feed its own people.

But if I say that in one corner of South-West Asia there are eighty million people who today join with me in accepting the compliment which a little while ago Mr.Hummel paid that they are an honourable people and they are willing to be partners of the biggest democracy in our universe today, the United States of America, rest assured that I am saying so from the bottom of my heart.

Amongst our major items of economy, we have rice. But I am sure you are not interested in rice, because you export your rice and we export ours. So, we do not complement each other in this regard.

We have some cotton; you also have some cotton. You sell your cotton and we sell ours. So here, again, we do not complement each other.

But we have some items which you do not have or you may have, for America is a continent and North America is a world by itself. There is nothing that you do not have, so when I say there are so many things which you do not have and we have, I am talking in comparative terms.

And when I speak about surgical instruments, you must be quite surprised. Pakistan is a developing country; even so, it has many qualified physicians and surgeons, and some of them are now treating humanity in the United States of America as well. There is a reason for this: better career prospects here. But the instruments which those surgeons and physicians use are made in Pakistan. and I can assure you that these are the best in the world. Try them.

We have another thing, which you may also have: hides and skins. Unfortunately, we are a developing country. We have animals, a great wealth of them. And from them we get hides and skins from which are made shoes, which, in Pakistan, sell for five or six dollars a pair. A friend of mine, in Washington, yesterday bought a similar pair of shoes, believe me or not, for fifty dollars. He came to me very excited and said, "Have you seen these shoes", and I said, "Yes, they are very fine ones." He asked me to buy on pair. When I asked him the price he had paid for the shoes, he told me it was fifty dollars. Thereupon I told him I would be the last person to buy a pair of shoes for that price.

What I am trying to tell you is that if the people of Paskistan could have a little more of leather technology, they could make shoes of the same quality in Pakistan and sell then to you at 25 dollars a pair and you would make 25 dollars by selling them for fifty dollars in the United States of America.

Talking about fabrics, you have your own fabrics. But I know you import a lot of these from Japan. You have laid down qoutes, details of which will be discussed between me and Mr.Hummel or between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America. We do not put any restrictions on imports of refrigerators made in the U.S.A. Also, there are no restrictions in Pakistan on import of electric iron. You can export these as much

as you like provided there are some importers of the items in Pakistan.

I would like to tell you that we in Pakistan are putting our cotton to use and with whatever technology we have are producing fabrics which are comparable to your best fabrics. In such a situation, and since humanbeings should help fellow humanbeings, the United States of America should consider enhancing our qouta of this commodity. The business community of the United States of America should, also, consider importing more fabrics from Pakistan, which I can assure you, will be of a very good quality.

While on the subject of business between Pakistan and United States of America, I should also mention that we believe in free enterprise, and we encourage private business. And it is in this context that I apeal to the business magnates of this country to give Pakistan a try.

When I say that in Pakistan you have good prospects, it may appear to you that perhaps I am under compulsion to praise my own country and its products. The fact is that it is a subject which is so close to my heart that I wish I could pour all of it to you because your response today has been so encouraging.

I have been reminded, although I knew it already, that today is Saturday. It is the weekend. And yet this lunch today has been attended by friends of Pakistan in great numbers. You not only honoured me, and President Kitty, and gave a shot in the arm to the United States Pakistan Economic Council, but, I think, you have honoured Pakistan itself for which, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful from the depths of my heart and, in my own simple way, all I can say is, thank you.

Brief Session with a Group of Correspondents of "THE TIMES", London

LONDON
October 6, 1980

Introduction

Talking to a group of correspondents of "The Times", London, the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, told them, in reply to a question, that he was still optimistic about peace coming about between Iraq and Iran, though he would say that it certainly was not around the corner.

Both sides to the war seemed to have their own case and unless both agreed to accept a solution which at present did not appear to be practicable, the conflict world go on. But, eventually, they would come round to an agreed solution.

To another questioner, he said that he was honoured by his meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher and exchanging views with her. He said he briefed her on his observations regarding Iran and Iraq and also discussed the Afghanistan situation.

Earlier, by way of intoduction, he informed the "Times" correspondents about his very useful experience of addressing the U.N. General Assmebly as the representative of nine hundren million Muslims of the world, a mandate which had been given to him by the 11th session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference held in Islamabad in May last. He also told them that he had a brief but extremely good meeting with President Carter as well as with Prime Minister Thatcher.

President: Recently, I have had a very useful experience of addressing the United Nations General Assembly on the advant of the 15th Hijra, that is the Islamic calender, as the representative of nine hundren million Muslims. This mandate was given to me in the 11th session of the Islamic Foreign Minister's Conference held in May last in Islamabad.

I hope you might have heard something about my speech, or in case you wish to know something more, I can tell you.

I had a brief but extremely good meeting with President Carter in the United States and I am just coming after having a delightful experience of having discussions with Prime Minister Thatcher.

Now, with this little introduction, I am sure you will have something to ask me about.

Question:Mr. President, you have just returned from Tehran and Baghdad. When you left, you seemed depressed about prospects of peace. Do you think that war between Iraq and Iran will be a long one? And, if so, why are there no prospects of peace?

President:Well, how did you get the idea that I was a pessimist?

Correspondent: By your statements.

President:Or are you merely suggesting that I was? No, when I left Iran and also when I left Baghdad I was very optimistic and I said so. I said I am optimistic not because I am an optimist by nature but because of what I have heard. The two sides are, of course, fighting the war but the rest of the world is interested in peace. And I could see some indications of peace eventually coming into the area.

I would say that peace is certainly not around the corner. But, perhaps, soner or later there will be certain solutions which could be acceptable to both sides. The

war is going on and my impression is that both sides are speaking from a position of strength.

Both sides seem to have their own case. And unless both sides agree to accept a solution which, at present, does not appear to be practicable the war will go on for some time.

At present their positions are so fundamentally apart that it is very difficult to bring them around to any agreed solution. But, I think, eventually they would, probably.

Question:Were your talks with Mrs.Thatcher concerned mostly with conflict between Iran and Iraq or were you also discussing the chance of perhaps persuading the Russians to leave Afghanistan, which is one of your aims?

Answer:Yes, we discussed Afghanistan. I am very grateful that I had the honour of seeing Prime Minister Thatcher and exchange views with her. I breifed her on my observations regarding Iran and Iraq and we also discussed the present Afghanistan situation.

Address by the President of Pakistan on United Nations Day Reception

ISLAMABAD
October 24, 1980

Introduction

On October, 1980, the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, addressed a distinguished gathering, including the Resident Representative of United Naions, envoys of various countries and other notables, on the occasion of the United Nations Day reception in Islamabad.

In his speech, the President dwelt at length on the need for a permanent world peace and for the necessity of the people of the world to abolish war and unite forever in peace. He spoke highly of the idea behind the founding of the United Nations and the intial hopeful years when it seemed it migh indeed serve as a viable peace-keeping agancy which, however, it failed to become, and warned that the indifference shown to tis initiatvies by individual members of the organisation must cease, otherwise the spectre of war would increase.

Speaking of the United Nations as symbolising mankind's expectations and quest for a just and equitable world free from fear, colonial rule, foreign domination and exploitation, the President said that international peace and security remained fragile and the world faced serious threats to peace, particularly in Asia, Persian Gulf, Middle East and Africa and the dialogue between the North and the

South for restructuring the world economic relations had reached a blind alley.

He reffered to the call he recently gave at the General Assembly for creating a human society founded on the principle of universal brotherhood and mutual trust and tolerance, which was derived from Islam and formed part of the U.N. Charter.

Mr Micheal Priestley, Resident Representative of United Nations;

Excellencies;

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I highly appreciate the words of welcome that you have addressed to me. I am very happy to be with you as your guest today at this function which has been oganised to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

The message from the Secretary General, H.E.Dr Kurt Waldheim, read by Mr Rana, Director of the United Nations Information Centre in Pakistan, speaks eloquently for the role of UN incontemporary world, and the responsibility of the member States to ensure that its high ideals are translated in to reality.

If one looks at history, one would assume that since man is supposedly a rational creature he would have totally renounced war and devised a system that would provide for a permanent world peace. The oldest, longe-lasting and most widespread doctrines of peace and non-violence are religious in origin. However, despite religious injunctions, and despite an awareness of the destructive nature of wars, mankind entered the Second World War, the most destructive of all wars so far.

To a war-wearv world the birth of the United Nations at San

Francisco in June, 1945 was the beginning of what appeared to be a promising new era. It seemed that at last mankind had learnt the stern lesson which centuries of strife had brought home that the people of the world must abolish war and unite forever in peace.

In its initial hopeful years, the UN worked as if it might indeed serve as the viable peace-keeping agency. However, this respite was short-lived, and new areas of tension sprang up in a number of regions. While the performance of the United Nations has been creditable, particularly in the area of decolonisation, the same can not be said of its efforts to maintain peace. In this, however, the organisation is not to blame. It is the extent of the commitment of individual members to the ideals of the organisation which determine its effectiveness. Unfortunately, in many cases nations have refused to accept the verdict of the United Nations, thus leading to an insatble world political situation. This indifference to U.N. intitiatives must cease, otherwise, with the waning influence of this world-body the spectre of war will increase.

The United Nations symbolises mankind's expectations and quest for a just and equitable world order, free from fear, colonial rule, froeign domination and economic exploitation. While the Organisation minght not have always fully met these expectations because of certain inherent limitations, it has definitely provided a valuable forum for realistic and a valuable forum for dialogue between nations with divergent views and position.

As we commemorate this anniversary, we are witnessing the end of an era and the beginning of a new world order. International peace and security remain fragile. The world faces serious threats to peace, particularly in Asia, Persian Gulf, Middle East, and Africa. The burden of wasteful expenditure on armaments is casting its ominous shadow. The dialogue between the North and the South for restructuring of the world economic relations has reached a blind alley and the legitimate expectations of the Third World for a fair deal have not so far been fulfiled.

It is in this sombre international situation that I was given the mandate by the Islamic Conference to present the view of the Muslim

world on present-day international situation. I concluded my address to the General Assembly with a call to the world body to make a solemn commitment that the 15th century of Hijra and the 21st century AD will usher in an era in which relations between states will be governed by higher moral principles and not by power politics; that we shall create a human society founded on the principle of universal brotherhood; that all forms of intolerance and discrimination, based on considerations of race, colour, creed and sex shall be ended; that the remaining strongholds of oppression and injustice on earth shall be demolished; that the strong nations shall not oppress the weak, nor the rich dominate the poor; that scientific knowledge and natural resources of the earth shall be shared equitably for the common walfare and good of the human race, instead of being squandered on armaments; that the environment of our planet will be protected and that above all peace shall prevail among nations and brotherhood among men.

These principles though derived from Islam, are consistent with the UN Charter also. The observance of the United Nations Day is the most appropriate occasion for re-dedication to these principles and ideals. Pakistan will continue to strive for the realisation of these ideals through the United Nations.

Thank You.

Address at the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP)

KARACHI
November 3, 1980

Introduction

Speaking before a distinguished gathering, which included President Suharto of Indonesia and Madam Suharto, at the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant, the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, paid tribute to the scientists, engineers and technologists of Pakistan for enabling the country to stand on its own feet so far as technology was concerned.

He expressed the determination of the whole nation to aquire every latest technology, including nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, and to move alongside the developed countries in this field as it was their right to do so.

As a token of his admiration, friendship, love and regard for President Suharto and Indonesia, the President placed all that Pakistan had at the disposal of the Indonesian people. He also expressed his wish to share it with not only the Muslim world but with all countries who, like Pakistan, wanted to stand shoulder to shoulder in the acquistion of modern technology.

He made a present to the technicians of the plant and, also, to the mosque situated in its premises for turning it into a religious school.

Your Excellency and my dear brother, President Suharto;

Your Excellency, Madam Suharto;

Dr. Munir;

Distinguished members of the delegation accompanying the President of Indonesia;

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

A little while ago I was presented the Visitor's Book and I was thinking about what remarks to write in it. I think, if I just qoute those remaks to you right now that will show the feelings of respect I have for this plant. I wrote,"We are rightfully proud of our human and technical talent that God has given us. I salute Pakistani scientists, engineers and technologists."

Dr. Munir has given us the history of this plant, and my tribute to the scientists, engineers anf technologists of Pakistan is primarily because we had once been left practically high and dry. We had to stand on our own feet. And this, I think, is the greatest lesson developing countries ought to learn. Stand on your own feet; acquire the necessary technology.

This nuclear plant, as you have just heard, started in 1966. It already has a 14-year-old technology. We cannot allow ourselves to be 14 years out of date. We have got to catch up with the world. This plant is the living symbol of our desire to acquire nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. To achieve this, is, therefore, the determination not only of the scientists, not only of the engineers, or of the technicians, but of the whole nation.

It is our hope that, by the Grace of God and the efforts of our people, we will not lag behind.

We will axquire every techonology, including nuclear technology. We want to move alongside the developed countries in the field of this technology, because, I think, it is our right to do so.

After all, we have, also, to to live in this world. God has given us such beatiful lands, such a fine Faith, such a sentiment of unity in the Muslim world that today His Excellency President Suharto and myself do not only feel very close to each other but have a definite bond of friendship which is further cemented by the Faith of Islam.

To that end, whatever we have, as Dr. Munir has said, is not only at the disposal of the Muslim world but certainly of all countries who, like us, are keen to stand shoulder to shoulder in the acquisition of modern technology.

We place all we have at the disposal of our brothers and friends in Indonesia. It is a very humble token of admiration, friendship, love and regard that we have for His Excellency President Suharto and his beautiful country, Indonesia.

I have been inspired and I take this opportunity to make a small present to the technicians of the nuclear plant. and with the permission of Dr.Shafiq, I want to give two more humble presents.

I give to the mosque a sum of fifteen thousand rupees for turning it into a religious school. I hope you will accept this. It is such a beautiful mosque with such a fine Imam and, I am sure, children and also gown-ups living in the vicinity will learn a little bit more of religion.

I, also, present a sum of hundred thousand rupees for the welfare fund of the staff of the nuclear plant. I hope you will be kind enough to accept this.

Thank you very much.

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